FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB #906319

FBI

Date: 7/31/58

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL -- REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Nease
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

(JS)(OF-EDIS)
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 7/19/61
DELETE

Re Chicago teletypes dated 7/29/58; and re Chicago airtel dated 7/30/58.

CG 5824-S* furnished additional information concerning [redacted] the above-captioned case on 7/31/58.

Informant advised that while he was in Moscow, he and ALEXAI ANDREOVICH [redacted]RENCHENCO (ph), of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), went to the office of the Kommsomol (Young Communist League) at the request of (FNU) ROMANOVSKY (ph), one of the Secretaries of the Kommsomol. ROMANOVSKY stated that on the whole, the delegation from the United States to the World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957 was not a good delegation. He stated that it is his opinion that the Communist Party - USA neglected this delegation and did not give it any leadership. He stated that there were some suspicions concerning [redacted], but more or less indicated it was the duty of the Communist Party - USA to determine whether or not she might be an "enemy agent". He stated that the next World Youth Festival will be held in Vienna in August, 1959, and that the governmental officials in Vienna have given official approval for this festival. ROMANOVSKY asked CG 5824-S* to furnish this information to the Communist Party - USA, and to ask the leadership of the Communist Party - USA to meet with youth leaders and

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau
1 - New York (100-134637) (#7-5)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(5)

EX-124

REC-6 100-428091-45

SENT DIRECTOR 8-4-58

AUG 2 1958

7 AUG 25 1958

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

begin immediate preparations for this festival. The Communist Party - USA should urge as many youth organizations as possible to get in touch with the Committee on preparations in Vienna in order to obtain official invitations or greetings or calls to this festival. ROMANOVSKY also wants the Communist Party - USA to send a list of youth organizations in the United States to the festival Committee so that invitations can be circulated to a large number of youth organizations in the United States.

On 7/31/58, CG 5824-S* continued his discussion of his activities while in China. On 7/2/58, informant met with TENG HSIAO-PING, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. Approximately one-half dozen persons were in attendance at this meeting, including WANG CHIA-HSIANG and other members of the International Liaison Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The following paragraphs contain a synopsis of pertinent remarks made by TENG HSIAO-PING:

He stated that there is such a thing as United States imperialism and the fight against United States imperialism is the main struggle in the international field. When we can defeat United States imperialism, this will be the proof -- the test -- that Socialism is superior. He stated that the size of a Communist Party is not important. The important thing is to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We believe in the Communist Party - USA. We believe the Communist Party - USA held up this banner bravely. We know you faced a difficult situation during your 16th Congress. We did not know the details, but we knew GATES was spreading revisionism. We had confidence in the Communist Party - USA and knew that DENNIS and FOSTER would solve these difficulties.

Continuing, TENG stated that there would be no need for a Communist Party in the United States if the revisionist ideas of GATES had prevailed. He stated, in essence, that Gatesism and all revisionism is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. He stated that it has been proven that once there is a clear banner of Marxism-Leninism, that revisionism can be eliminated and the Party

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

can move forward when revisionism is cleared up. He said the situation in the United States proves that what the masses want is Marxism-Leninism and not revisionism, which is the voice of the bourgeoise. He said he is happy with the results of the February plenum (National Committee meeting) of the Communist Party - USA. He pointed out that a few members of the Communist Party - USA have left, but the Party in the United States will become stronger. He stated that perhaps the Communist Party - USA will lose some more members, but who knows maybe it will become stronger if some more people drop out. It is better to have a small, but fighting, Party. A Communist Party is not a debating society. He stated that after the February meeting of the Communist Party - USA and the endorsement of the Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, joy was brought to the comrades in China. The Communist Party of China never had any doubt but that the Communist Party - USA would reach this result, although it realized that the Communist Party - USA faces many difficulties and the enemy is powerful.

TENG also stated that Comrade MAO has raised a question with us. He asked who is stronger in the United States -- the Communist Party or DULLES. MAO said that DULLES and United States monopoly capital will be done away with. It has no future. Even if the membership in the Communist Party - USA continues to dwindle, the future belongs to the Communist Party in the United States. In the end, the people will realize that the Communist Party represents their interests. Of course, among the imperialist states the United States is the strongest. But Comrade MAO thinks that United States imperialism is a paper tiger and the most nervous man in the world is DULLES, who is confronted with troubles which develop here, there, and everywhere.

The number of persons in a Party does not always indicate the strength of the Party. For example, in Yugoslavia there are an average of 2½ Party members for every one hundred persons. Yet, size does not necessarily mean that it is a good Party. Yugoslavia also has state power. But it has no future because it has discarded Marxism-Leninism and is a revisionist Party. It cannot help but to degenerate. Their ideological

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

banner is wrong. The Communist Party - USA may be small, but it raises the banner of Marxism-Leninism high. It is ideologically correct and is moving in a correct direction.

Referring to CG 5824-S*, TENG said, We like you. You are full of confidence, as is the American Party. We are happy over the general situation in your Party. We firmly believe that work will develop your Party. We would like you to keep in mind what MAO has said and that is that the golden age of United States imperialism is over and that the East wind prevails over the West wind. In further quoting MAO, TENG said that the United States economic conditions make it more difficult for the workers to accept revolutionary ideas, but now there is an economic crisis developing. And even after a certain period of recovery, the general trend will be downward and the markets for United States imperialism will narrow. A revolutionary situation will eventually develop.

TENG then stated the slogan of the Soviet Union today is to surpass the United States in every field. In some aspects, the United States has already been surpassed. We want to surpass England in a short time.

We even think that it is possible for us to catch up with the United States. We cannot say how long it will take, but we do not think it will take us too long.

The Communist Parties in capitalist countries are carrying on propaganda to show the superiority of Socialism over Capitalism. What you are saying as propaganda will prove correct. Then the United States worker will be able to tell whether the words of EISENHOWER and STEVENSON are better than those of FOSTER and DENNIS. We believe that they will say that FOSTER's and DENNIS' are better.

The United States looks down on us now but we dealt with them in Korea and in Geneva.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

Next, TENG stated that United States imperialism pretends and bluffs, but, as MAO said, it is a paper tiger. We have no fear of United States imperialism.

The United States thinks that we want to be admitted to the United Nations and that we are worried about the embargo. But the embargo will not hurt us and if a country of six hundred million people is left out of the United Nations, this is no credit to the United Nations but it is no harm to us. There will be a day when they will have to recognize us. But there will also be a day when the workers of the United States will recognize us. We are willing to wait until the day the Communist Party - USA wins. We are grateful to the United States for the embargo. It is helping to develop our economy and the economy in all Socialist countries. When we are forced to solve our own problems, things develop rapidly.

TENG also stated that the international Communist movement, as a result of the meetings in Moscow during November and December, 1957, is in good shape. We are all united for the same purpose and we are very happy about the entire situation.

TENG also stated that perhaps DE GAULLE coming into power is a good thing. The French Communist Party is confident too. We can conclude that the world belongs to the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties. It seems to us that the downward trend of United States economy is creating more difficulties for the Capitalist world. The first Sputnik destroyed the myth of the superiority of imperialist technology.

TENG further stated that in regard to world problems, there is either war or peace. The Declaration of the 64 Communist Parties stated that all Communist Parties want peace. We want peace because this will give us an opportunity to finish off Capitalism peacefully. We can surpass Capitalism in every line, and then the people can decide who to go with. Since we are not the Chief of Staff of the United States, we cannot decide whether or not the United States should go to war. But if the United

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via _____ _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

States wants war, they will be burned. There will be loss of lives, destruction, but many countries will have their revolution faster. Wanting peace is not the same as being afraid of war. We do not want war because we can build more rapidly under peace. But EISENHOWER and DULLES will have to decide if they want war. If so, let's have it. One thing is certain. In war, they will be the losers. They will lose in peace or war, but will be bigger losers in the event of war.

CG 5824-S* also furnished information he had received from WANG CHIA-HSIANG, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, concerning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. While the informant furnished considerable details in this regard, the essence of the information from WANG is that the Communist Party of China is bitterly denouncing Yugoslavia and the League of Yugoslav Communists as revisionists and allies of the imperialist nations.

CG 5824-S* estimates that it will take a little more than one day to furnish the rest of the information in regard to the SOLO operation. Unless unforeseen difficulties are encountered, this information will be obtained on 8/1/58, and thereafter complete transcription will begin.

AUERBACH

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 13, 1958

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: SOLO

IIS IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

On August 12, 1958, [redacted] Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, State, asked if the Bureau would have any objection to State making copies of our "Top Secret" letters of July 24, 25, 31, and August 1, 1958, for distribution to certain top level State officials, namely, Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State; Walter Spencer Robertson, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs; C. Burke Elbrick, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs and Mr. Hugh S. Cumming, Jr., Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. He said that State desired to make these copies because the highly important and interesting information concerning top level meetings among Russian, Chinese and U. S. communist leaders should be made available to the above-mentioned individuals as quickly as possible.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-AUB
#906318

OBSERVATIONS:

We have disseminated the information from this source (CG 5824-S) under a "Top Secret" classification and have pointed out to State the extremely sensitive nature of the sources (plural used to further protect our source) and have requested that the information be given the most careful security and restricted to a need-to-know basis. State is keenly interested in the material we have been furnishing and has expressed its appreciation. They have also requested to be given further information about the source which we have declined to do. It is felt that to accede to State's present request for approval to make copies of our letters, while undoubtedly helpful to State, would increase the possibility of compromising our source.

b6
b7C

ACTION:

Inasmuch as [redacted] requested that he be orally advised at the earliest possible moment of our decision, he was advised on the afternoon of August 12, 1958, that we have put restrictions in our letters in order to protect our most delicate sources and, therefore, we would prefer that copies not be made but that the letters, as sent, be brought to the attention of the appropriate officials in State.

JMF:bjt
(6)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Thornton
1 - Liaison Section
1 - Mr. Fitzgerald

REC-74 100-428411-46
EX-135
23 AUG 18 1958
5- Thornton

55 AUG 22 1958

1 - Mr. Cromer

SAC, Chicago

August 21, 1958

Director, FBI (100-3-76)
REC-16 100-428091-49

EX 105 COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
YOUTH MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 8-8-58 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

Photographs of the youth delegation from the Soviet Union which visited the United States during July, 1958, should be exhibited promptly to CG 5824-S to see if he can identify any member of that delegation as the individual named Romanovsky, who is one of the secretaries of the Komsomol in the Soviet Union. If such photographs are not available in Chicago, the Bureau should be advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-4LB
#906318

IIS-110F-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/18
DELETE

MAILED 11
AUG 21 1958
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sandy

HC:bam
(4)

59 AUG 27 1958

MAIL ROOM

4-41 (Rev. 11-6-57)

DECODED COPY

REC-63

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy
W. C. Sullivan

IS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/81
DELETE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype #206318

URGENT 7-30-58 6:52 AM RDA

TO DIRECTOR AND SAC, NEW YORK

FROM SAC, CHICAGO 290549

TRIP OF INFORMANT Internal Security - Communist

SOLO. IS-C. BUFILE 100-428091. DURING A FOUR HOUR INTERVIEW ON JULY 29, INSTANT, CG 5824-S* FURNISHED ADDITIONAL DETAILS PERTAINING TO THE SOLO OPERATION. INFORMANT ADVISED THAT HE LEARNED FROM NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH (PH), HEAD OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICAN SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CCCPSU, AND HIS ASSISTANT, ALEXAI ANDREOVICH GRENCHENCO (PH) THAT ARGENTINA IS BECOMING A CENTER FOR COMMUNISTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THAT ARGENTINA IS A GOOD PLACE TO MAKE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS TO RUSSIA. THEY INDICATED THAT ARGENTINA IS BECOMING MORE IMPORTANT THAN MEXICO AS A CENTER FOR COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, BECAUSE BOTH THE CP, USA, AND THE CP OF CUBA HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY FEEL THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CP OF MEXICO CANNOT BE TRUSTED. WHILE MEXICO IS BEING USED BY CP IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, THAT ARE SEMI-LEGAL AND ILLEGAL, ARGENTINA IS BEING USED TO A GREATER EXTENT IN THIS REGARD. IN PRESENTING OBSERVATIONS OF HIS TOUR THROUGH LENINGRAD, STALINGRAD, KIEV, AND OTHER RUSSIAN CITIES AND HIS TRAVEL FROM RUSSIA AND CHINA, INFORMANT ADVISED THAT HE SAW MANY SOVIET COMMERCIAL JET AIRPLANES, NOT ONLY AT THE AIRPORTS, BUT IN ACTUAL FLIGHT BETWEEN CITIES. HE ALSO STATED HE OBSERVED THAT MOST AIRPORTS AND FACTORIES IN THE OUTLYING DISTRICTS IN RUSSIA ARE RINGED WITH MIG AIRPLANES AND THAT HARD CLAY RUNWAYS ARE USED

b6
b7C

53 AUG 22 1958

SENT DIRECTOR 7-30-58

Mr. Belmont

REC-63 18 AUG 19 1958

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-41 (Rev. 11-6-57)

DECODED COPY

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

W. C. Sullivan

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

PAGE TWO FROM SAC, CHICAGO 290549

FOR MANY OF THE FIGHTER TYPE PLANES. INFORMANT ALSO ADVISED THAT WHEN HE WAS IN LENINGRAD DURING FIRST PART OF JUNE, 1958, ON EITHER JUNE 8 OR 9, LAST, DURING THE NIGHT, TANKS AND MILITARY VEHICLES WITH ANTIAIRCRAFT EQUIPMENT, MISSILES AND ROCKETS PASSED BY THE PALACE HE WAS RESIDING AT FOR AT LEAST 3 OR 4 HOURS. INFORMANT STATED HE DID NOT KNOW REASON FOR THIS MILITARY MANEUVERING. INFORMANT ADVISED THAT SINCE HE WAS ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED BY SOMEONE FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU AND WAS IN RUSSIA WITH AN ASSUMED IDENTITY, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO ACTUALLY GET THE REAL FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE TALKED ON THE FARMS AND IN THE FACTORIES. HOWEVER, THOSE PERSONS WITH WHOM HE DID HAVE CONVERSATIONS STATED THAT THE DECENTRALIZATION OF BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE HAS DECREASED RED TAPE AND INCREASED PRODUCTION. INFORMANT WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE ADVANCES MADE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE AVERAGE RUSSIAN DURING THE YEARS SINCE 1947, WHEN HE LAST VISITED RUSSIA. INFORMANT STATED THAT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT MOST OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE ARE DESIROUS OF PEACE. THIS MAY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE DESTRUCTIVENESS OF MODERN WEAPONS, BUT ALSO TO THE FACT THAT MOST RUSSIANS HAD CASUALTIES AMONG CLOSE RELATIVES DURING WORLD WAR TWO AND SAW THE DEVASTATION OF MANY OF THEIR CITIES. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THE INFORMANT WAS ASKED BY PERSONS IN FACTORIES IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR PEACE. PARTY LEADERS IN CITIES OUTSIDE OF MOSCOW STATED THAT THEY WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT CP IN OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE TO TALK ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP AND THE FACT THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WOULD SUFFER IN THE CASE OF A UNIVERSAL WAR. INFORMANT WAS TAKEN TO A SHIP BUILDING YARD IN LENINGRAD AND WAS SHOWN THE FIRST ATOMIC ICE BREAKER CALLED QUOTE "THE LENIN" UNQUOTE, WHICH IS DUE TO BE LAUNCHED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HE COMMENTED THAT THEY ARE EXPANDING THE SUBWAY IN LENINGRAD AND THAT IT IS EVEN DEEPER THAN THE ONE IN MOSCOW, WHICH WAS DEEP ENOUGH TO ACT AS A SHELTER DURING WORLD WAR TWO.

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-41 (Rev. 11-6-57)

DECODED COPY

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

W. C. Sullivan

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

PAGE THREE FROM CHICAGO 290549

INFORMANT ALSO NOTICED IN BOTH RUSSIA AND CHINA THAT MILITARY FORCES ARE USED TO BUILD ROADS, RAILROADS, WORK ON RESERVOIRS, REBUILD TELEPHONE LINES, AND WORK ON SIMILAR PROJECTS. IN COMMENTING UPON THE SOLO OPERATION, INFORMANT FEELS THAT IT WAS A SUCCESS SINCE HE WAS ABLE TO TALK OFFICIALLY WITH LEADERS OF BOTH THE CPSU AND THE CP OF CHINA AND HAS OPENED UP LINES OF COMMUNICATION, OVER WHICH HE WILL HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE AND CONTROL. INFORMANT FEELS THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PIECES OF INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO THE RELATIONSHIP AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE CP, USA, AND THE CPSU WAS THE FACT THAT HE LEARNED THAT ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG HAS BEEN THE SOLE OFFICIAL CONTACT BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE CP, USA. INFORMANT LEARNED THIS NOT ONLY FROM HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU, BUT ALSO FROM TRACHTENBERG HIMSELF. TRACHTENBERG DID NOT IDENTIFY THE PERSON WITH WHOM HE IS IN CONTACT, BUT THE INFORMANT IS OF THE OPINION THAT IT IS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION TO THE U.N. INFORMANT ALSO PAVED THE WAY, FROM A PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW, FOR FUTURE TRIPS OF THIS NATURE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND HE HOPES TO BE able IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO CONVINCE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CP, USA, PARTICULARLY EUGENE DENNIS, THAT HE SHOULD BE ADDED TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE SO THAT HE WOULD HAVE MORE OFFICIAL POSITION ON ANY SUBSEQUENT TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION. ON JULY 29, INSTANT, INFORMANT ALSO FURNISHED INFORMATION RECEIVED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH JOHN WILLIAMSON IN LONDON, ENGLAND, ON JULY 17 AND 18, LAST. INFORMANT ADVISED THAT AS A RESULT OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH JOHN WILLIAMSON, ~~HE IS CONVINCED THAT WILLIAMSON IS IN A STRATEGIC POSITION, SINCE~~ HE MAINTAINS CONTACT WITH MANY MEMBERS OF THE CP, USA, BY MEANS OF LETTERS, INCLUDING EUGENE DENNIS, AND IS ALSO IN COMMUNICATION WITH FORMER AMERICANS NOW LIVING IN EUROPE, AND IS IN CONTACT WITH THE CP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HE IS REGARDED AS AN EXPERT ON THE CP, USA, AND MANY CP WRITE TO HIM FOR INFORMATION AND OPINIONS REGARDING THE UNITED STATES AND THE CP, USA, WHEN THEY

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-41 (Rev. 11-6-57)

DECODED COPY

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

W. W. Sullivan

PAGE FOUR FROM CHICAGO 290549

Communist Party - Great Britain

FEEL THEY CANNOT COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH THE CP, USA. INFORMANT CONVEYED TO WILLIAMSON THE SUGGESTION OF DENNIS THAT WILLIAMSON REPRESENT THE CP, USA, ON THE NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE QUOTE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY UNQUOTE, WHICH WILL BE PUBLISHED IN PRAGUE. WILLIAMSON STATED HE WAS NOT DESIROUS OF ACCEPTION THIS POST BECAUSE IT WOULD MEAN HE WOULD HAVE TO MOVE HIS FAMILY ONCE AGAIN. FURTHER, HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE NC OF THE CP, USA. ALSO, HE IS FINDING DIFFICULTY IN ESTABLISHING ROOTS IN THE CPGB AND FEELS THAT AN ABSENCE FROM GREAT BRITAIN FOR THIS PURPOSE WOULD DISSIPATE WHATEVER BASES HE HAS ESTABLISHED. HE STATED THAT IF HE WERE MADE A MEMBER OF THE NC OF THE CP, USA, AND RECEIVED AN OFFICIAL MANDATE FROM DENNIS AND APPROVAL OF THE CPGB, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO GO TO PRAGUE FOR A FEW WEEKS. WILLIAMSON EXHIBITED TO INFORMANT LETTERS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM DENNIS AND IN ONE OF THESE LETTERS DENNIS HAD GIVEN WILLIAMSON A SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE LAST MEETING OF THE NC OF CP, USA. WILLIAMSON IS AN ASSISTANT NATIONAL ORGANIZATION SECRETARY OF THE CPGB AND IS PAID BY THE PARTY. HE WAS ALSO GIVEN MONEY BY THE CPSU AND CPGB FOR HIS CURRENT RESIDENCE. HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE NEC* OF THE CPGB, WHICH IS SIMILAR TO THE NC OF THE CP, USA. WILLIAMSON WANTS THE CP, USA, TO CARRY ON A CAMPAIGN TO PERMIT HIM TO RETURN TO THE U.S. HE TOLD INFORMANT HE BELIEVES THAT CLAUDIA JONES IS MENTALLY ILL AND SHOULD BE IN A MENTAL INSTITUTION. WILLIAMSON WAS INVOLVED IN THE PLANS FOR THE CONCERT TOUR OF PAUL ROBESON IN GREAT BRITAIN AND ADVISED THE INFORMANT THAT ROBESON PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO RUSSIA, GHANA, AND INDIA, AND THEN WOULD RETURN TO ENGLAND. WILLIAMSON ALSO STATED THAT W.E.B. DU BOIS WAS DUE TO ARRIVE IN ENGLAND AND THAT HE, TOO, PLANNED TO GO TO RUSSIA. WILLIAMSON ASKED THE INFORMANT IF THERE WAS STILL FRICTION BETWEEN GUS HALL AND EUGENE DENNIS; INFORMANT ADVISED HE DID NOT KNOW THERE HAD BEEN ANY FRICTION BETWEEN HALL AND DENNIS. WILLIAMSON STATED THAT [redacted] IS STILL IN WARSAW

National Committee

b6
b7C

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

* National Executive Committee

4-41 (Rev. 11-6-57)

DECODED COPY

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

PAGE FIVE FROM CHICAGO 290549

AND IS ONLY EMPLOYED PART TIME. SHE IS ALMOST POVERTY STRICKEN AND WANTS TO LEAVE WARSAW. WILLIAMSON ALSO FURNISHED INFORMATION CONCERNING SEVERAL FORMER MEMBERS OF THE CP, USA, AND THIS INFORMATION WILL BE SUBMITTED IN A SUBSEQUENT COMMUNICATION. INTERVIEWS WITH INFORMANT CONCERNING SOLO OPERATION WILL CONTINUE ON JULY 30, NEXT.

RECEIVED: 8:40 AM TELETYPE

8:44 AM CODING UNIT HL-HJT

Dissemination being prepared for White House, Vice Pres, A.G. & Secty of State.

cc: Mr. Thornton

Called Mr. Thornton

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Transmit the following in _____ Date: 8/14/58

Via AIRTEL (Type in plain text or code)

AIR MAIL -- REGISTERED (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB #20631

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* orally advised SA JOHN E. KEATING on 8/12/58 that on that date he had sent a note to ROBERT THOMPSON in New York City. In this note, CG 5824-S* stated that he had learned unofficially that the Communist Party of Uruguay would hold a convention starting August 17, 1958. CG 5824-S* suggested to THOMPSON that the Communist Party - USA send greetings to the Communist Party of Uruguay by telegram or cablegram. CG 5824-S* also told THOMPSON that he would give him the details when he sees him in New York City during the week of 8/17/58.

CG 5824-S* commented that he did not suggest to THOMPSON that the Communist Party - USA send a representative to the convention of the Communist Party of Uruguay and that he had delayed sending this information to THOMPSON as long as he thought advisable and yet long enough so that it will be difficult for the Communist Party - USA to actually get a representative to Uruguay in time for its convention.

(IS NOF-EDIS

SEARCH _____
UPDATE _____
CREATE 8/19/58 AUERBACH
DELETE _____

3 - Bureau
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(5)

REC- 30 100-428091-45

AUG 15 1958

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

AUG 22 1958

b6
b7C

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 8, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906318

ENCL 2

Utmost care must be used in handling the following information in order to protect the identities of the informants.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and stenographer [redacted] This fifth letter contains information in regard to that part of the Solo operation in which CG 5824-S* met with a secretary of the Komsomol in Moscow, Russia.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
100-134637 (Solo 7-5)
1 - Chicago
JEK:LMA
(4)

IIS IIOF-FDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/21/87
DEL

ENCLOSURE

2 ENCLOSURES
FILED WITH COPIES

REC-16 100-428091-49

EX 105

AUG 22 1958

EXP. PROC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BJA-MLB
#906318

August 8, 1958

MEETING WITH ROMANOVSKY (PHONETIC), ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE KOMSOMOL OF THE U.S.S.R.

While I was in Moscow during the latter part of May, 1958, I went with ALEXAL ~~CHENCHENCO~~ of the International U.S.S.R. Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Komsomol or Young Communist League office. This is a large building located one block east of the headquarters of the Central Committee of the CPSU. There are plain clothes guards at the entrances. They ask for passes and follow security procedures similar to those used at the headquarters of the CCCPSU. There are also guards on the main floor and a guard at the elevators on the upper floors. We went to either the third or fourth floor to the office of ROMANOVSKY, who is one of the secretaries of the Komsomol. The first name of ROMANOVSKY may be SERGI ROMANOVSK (phonetic). It is believed that he may have been the spokesman for the youth delegation from the U.S.S.R. which visited in the United States during July, 1958. U.S.S.R If photographs of the persons in this delegation are available it would be possible to determine if he was in this delegation.

When we arrived in the outer office of his secretary and were announced, ROMANOVSKY sent word that we should be patient and that he would cancel his other appointments. Some people left his office before we entered. They did not look like Russians. It is possible that they were from Young Communist League organizations in Europe or the so called People's Democracies.

ROMANOVSKY is about 6' in height, has light complexion, brown hair, light eyes and looks and dresses like a young executive.

ROMANOVSKY gave me a brief review of what happened at the World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957. His comments about the American and British press were bitter. He said that they were responsible for a lot of the trouble and provocations. He stated that the American and British press tried to take photographs illegally, tried to interview delegates, etc. He said that while there was not much to be expected from the American delegation, it lacked leadership and was a bad delegation on the whole. He said that they are angry with [redacted] and they thought that the CPUSA neglected the United States delegation by not dealing with it in an b6 b7C

100-428091-49

ENCLOSURE

organized way and by not assigning some Party leader to help co-ordinate and to give leadership to the delegation. He said that the leadership of this American delegation was actually selected and elected in Moscow. It was led by inexperienced youngsters. There was also some dissension. They were convinced that there were spies and provocateurs from the United States intelligence agencies in the delegation.

ROMANOVSKY said that they have some suspicions about [redacted] He said that perhaps she is working for some intelligence agency, but the fact is she did come to Moscow. It is possible that the youngsters in the American delegation did not know how to correctly involve her in activities in order to prevent the factionalism which developed in the American delegation.

NICOLAI DIMITROVICH MATKOFSKY (all spellings phonetic), head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, had previously discussed the American delegation to the World Youth Festival with me. NICOLAI was positive in stating that the American delegation was no good, while ROMANOVSKY said it lacked leadership but was the best delegation which could be expected under the circumstances. NICOLAI was very sharp in his comments about [redacted] He said that [redacted] has been in touch with the Russians again. However, it is up to the CPUSA to determine who is who in regard to possible enemy agents.

b6
b7C

1959 WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA, AUSTRIA

ROMANOVSKY said that the 1959 World Youth Festival will be held in Vienna, Austria. A headquarters has been established for a temporary Preparatory Committee for this World Youth Festival. The address is Vienne I, Seilerstatte, 15, Autriche. This Preparatory Committee is composed of Communist Party members or Komsomols.

According to ROMANOVSKY, the Chancellor and the government officials of Austria have agreed to permit this festival to be held in Vienna. It was even dealt with officially on radio and television in Vienna and they have placed no obstacles in the way of this meeting. They permitted the setting up of the temporary Preparatory Committee.

ROMANOVSKY said that the Socialist Youth Federation and the Social Democrats would not endorse or join in this

MR. A. H. BELMONT

August 7, 1958

MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Brantigan
1 - Mr. Donahoe
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Thornton

SASH
ESPIONAGE - R

Sash is the control file for information regarding the couri
operations of NY 694-S* between the Communist Party (CP), USA, and the
Labor Progressive Party (CP of Canada). NY 694-S* recently returned f
Canada where he had conferred with Tim Buck and Norman Freed, leading
functionaries of Canadian CP, during the period 7-30-58 to 8-4-58. Buck
advised informant that William Kashtan and Leslie Morris, both members
Canadian CP, had recently returned from European trip during which they
had attended CP congresses in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East German;
They had also spent several days in Hungary and five days in Moscow.
Requested our informant to convey an important matter to Eugene Dennis,
leading functionary of CPUSA, it being noted informant assumes this
information was received by Buck from Kashtan and Morris who apparentl
had received same from sources in Moscow.

International Communist Journal:

Buck told informant to advise Dennis that English edition of
the new international communist journal, "World Marxist Review" will be
printed in the near future in Canada. According to Buck, the headquart
of this journal will be in Prague and the translated text will be shipp
from Prague to Canada where the English translation will be printed.
According to Buck, the CPUSA should immediately make arrangements to
record this journal the widest possible distribution in this country.
Buck indicated to our informant that this information was received by
Buck from Morris who in turn had carried the message directly to Canada
from Moscow.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-WLB
#906318

Developments in Hungary:

Buck advised NY 694-S* that Kashtan and Morris had told him
that Premier Janos Kadar of Hungary in a meeting with officials of the
Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia CPs had stated that the timing of the execut
Imre Nagy in Hungary had to take place when it did due to inner
pressures within Hungary. Kadar stated that "we were aware and are awar
that the timing of this execution was not of the best but it had to take
place when it did. He continued that he could not give full details at
the present time but might do so later on. Kadar also indicated that th
Hungarian secret police are continuing their search for additional
counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary.

62041

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

100-3-81 (CPUSA, International Relations)
100-428091

100-428091
NOT RECORDED
126 AUG 15 1958

andum to Mr. Belmont
SASH
041

According to Buck, Morris and Kashtan also had a private rsation with an individual identified only as Khiss, reportedly d in command in Hungary. Khiss also indicated that the Hungarian tions were ill timed and that the Hungarians were severely cized by the Russians. Khiss also stated that there would be many many more" executions in Hungary in time to come.

According to Khiss, CP membership in Hungary is presently 00 and it will be maintained at this figure. The greatest em within Hungarian CP is the necessity to strengthen its communist ogy. Another great weakness in Hungary according to Khiss is the problem.

llaneous:

Buck also advised informant that he had determined from Morris ashtan that by 1965, East Germany would surpass West Germany in trial production. Morris and Kashtan also advised Buck that Gomulka, h leader, told them that there will be no further trouble from the h-Jewish "Folkstimme" which first revealed the persecution of Jews e Soviet Union. According to Buck, this indicated that the people is publication had either been purged or brought into line.

MENDATION:

1. It would appear that the above information is of sufficient national significance as to warrant dissemination on a high level a "Top Secret" classification.

2. If you approve, we will immediately disseminate this mation to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the dent, Vice President Nixon, Secretary of State, Central Intelligence y and the Attorney General under a "Top Secret" classification. information will be carefully paraphrased in order to adequately ct our informant.

FD-192
(7-17-52)

BULKY EXHIBIT - INVENTORY OF PROPERTY ACQUIRED AS EVIDENCE

Bufile: 100-428091 Chicago Field Division

8/1/58 Date

Title and Character of Case:

(SOLO)
TS-C

(IS NOT EDIS)
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

Date Property Acquired:

5/26/58

Source From Which Property Acquired:

SA [redacted] of New York Office

Location of Property or Bulky Exhibit:

Safety Deposit Box, LaSalle National Bank, Chicago, Illinois

Reason for Retention of Property and Efforts Made to Dispose of Same:

Pending instructions from the Bureau

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-24-00 BY SP4 J.T. SAUL #706 319

Description of Property or Exhibit and Identity of Agent Submitting Same:

ASAC J. L. SCHMITT

b6
b7C

(1.)

	FED. RES. NOTES	SERIES	
4-$100	"	1934	L0380941 A
	"	1950	L00391219 A
	"	1934	L06722861 A
	"	1934 C	L07743046 A
3-$50	"	1934 A	B07292411 A
	"	1934 A	B07783720 A
	"	1934-D	C07788601 A
1-$10	SILVER CERTIFICATE	1934 D	B39080624 A
34-$10	FED. RES. NOTES	1934 A	B47454953 B
	"	1934 C	B67295593 E
	"	1934-C	F12663468 B
	"	1934 D	F52665582 B
	"	1934 D	F62266898 B
	"	1934 D	F66848192 B
	"	1934 D	J77231180 A
	"	1934 A	L00825375 *
	"	1934 A	L58606418 A
	"	1934 C	L75182748 B
	"	1934 C	L75268806 B
	"	1934 D	L12887478 C

ORDERED
6 AUG 21 1958

Field File #: CG 134-46-Sub B-1B1

50 AUG 22 1958

INV. SEC.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 11, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO [redacted]

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Utmost care must be used in handling the following information in order to protect the identities of the informants.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This sixth letter contains information in regard to that part of the Solo operation which dealt with Central and South American affairs. b6 b7C

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
100-134637 (Solo 7-5)
1 - Chicago
JEK:LMA
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-12-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906218

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/81
DELETE

REC-60 100-428091-50

3 AUG 13 1958

REC-60 EX-126

1 ENCLOSURE

51 AUG 28 1958 EX-128

August 11, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MCB
#906318

CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY AND MEETINGS OF ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

While I was in Moscow, Russia, I learned from NICOLAI DIMITROVICH MATKOFSKY (phonetic), head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, and ALEXAI GRENCHENCO (phonetic), of the International Department of the CCCPSU, that the Communist Party of Uruguay is scheduled to hold a convention in August, 1958. This convention will give Communist Parties in South and Central America, and even other Communist Parties, a good excuse to go to Uruguay. Thus, they will have a gathering of most Latin American Communist leaders and this convention is considered important for that reason. At this convention a decision will be made in regard to a date and place for a meeting of all Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere. This meeting of all Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere will most likely take place in Argentina. It is hoped that this meeting can be held in December, but a decision may be made to hold it in January.

The CPSU wants the CPUSA to send a delegate to the convention of the Communist Party of Uruguay for the purpose of getting details in regard to the meeting of all Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere.

ARGENTINA

While the meeting of all Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere will most likely be held in Argentina, Venezuela and Columbia were mentioned. Argentina was talked about as a center for Communists in Latin America. It is one of the biggest bases for carrying on illegal international Communist activity, such as conspiracy and espionage, in the general sense, not in a narrow sense. It is also a base for establishing relationships between Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere and for the co-ordination of the policies of these Communist Parties in the fight against imperialism.

When I discussed with NICOLAI and ALEXAI the difficulty of getting to Russia from the United States because of passport restrictions (this was before the recent Supreme Court decision), they said thatArgentina is a good place to make travel arrangements. Brazil and even Venezuela were

ENCLOSURE 100-428091-50

mentioned in this connection but were not emphasized as Argentina was.

MEETING WITH UNDERGROUND LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

While I was in Moscow, a meeting with an underground leader of the Communist Party of Cuba was arranged by the Russians. This meeting was held in the apartment in which I was staying in Moscow. ALEXAI served as the interpreter. Also present was someone from the Latin American Bureau of the International Department of the CCCPSU who speaks Russian and Spanish. It is noted that some Latin Americans operate almost openly in the CCCPSU. No names were used. The Cuban was merely told that I was a representative of the CPUSA in Russia incognito. This Cuban is described as follows: age, about 50; weight, 175; height, 5' 10"; complexion, very light, almost white; eyes, dark. He is almost bald and has just a fringe of hair. He is pleasant looking and does not speak English.

We agreed that if a leader of the Communist Party of Cuba comes to New York City, calls my brother and says that he is "Mr. Garcia", my brother will put him in contact with the leadership of the CPUSA in order to re-establish a good contact between the two Parties and to discuss mutual problems, the political situation in Cuba, what the CPUSA can do for the CP of Cuba, etc.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

EDWARDO MACHADO and his wife from the CP of Venezuela were scheduled to be in Russia while I was there according to information from NICOLAI. However, they and some representatives of the CP of Argentina and the CP of Columbia were delayed. Otherwise, I probably would have met with them.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO AND GUS HALL

NICOLAI and ALEXAI discussed the arrest of GUS HALL. They stated that while Mexico City still remains a Communist center, it cannot be depended upon any more. They said that both the CPUSA and the CP of Cuba have handed in reports to the effect that something is wrong in the Mexican Party and that the Mexican Communists cannot be trusted. They asked me if I thought this information throwing suspicion on the CP of Mexico might account for the arrest of GUS HALL. They

asked if I thought the CP of Mexico betrayed GUS HALL. I replied that I did not know but that there does seem to be some suspicion in regard to the CP of Mexico.

COMMENTS:

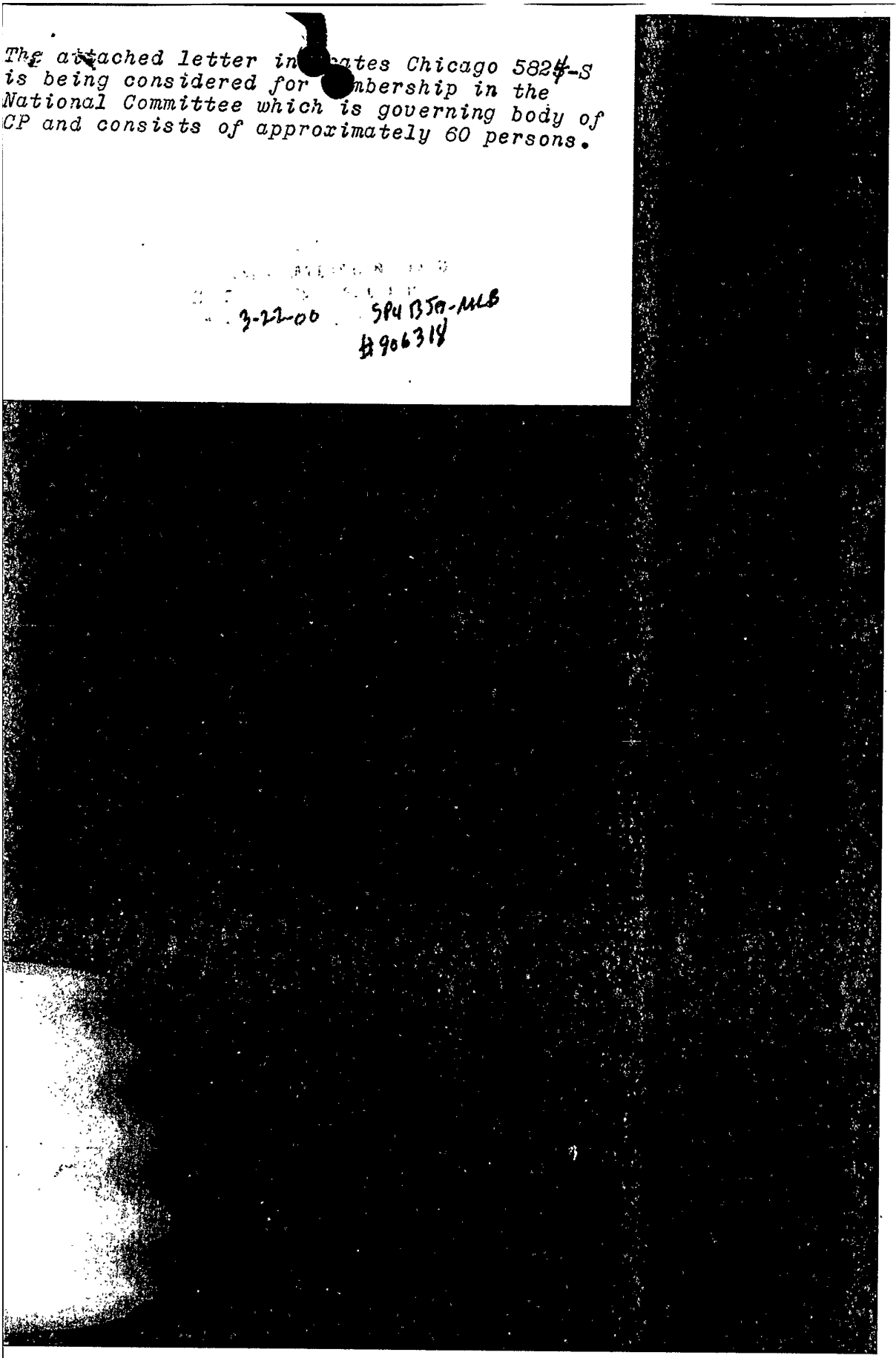
While Mexico is still being used by Communist Parties which are semi-legal or illegal, Argentina is being used to a greater extent.

I learned from NICOLAI and ALEXAI that a number of Communist leaders from Latin America are planning to go to Moscow for conferences.

During the visit of Vice President RICHARD NIXON to South America my Russian contacts told me that they were glad that the CPUSA is paying attention to events in Latin America.

The attached letter indicates Chicago 582-S is being considered for membership in the National Committee which is governing body of CP and consists of approximately 60 persons.

3-22-60 SPHBSA-MLB #90631



youth organizations as possible to make contact with the Preparatory Committee in order to get information, official calls to the festival, etc.

ROMANOVSKY also asked that a list of youth organizations in the United States be sent by the CPUSA to the Preparatory Committee in Vienna so that the Preparatory Committee can circularize invitations to a broader group of organizations and people. He said that in this way they can help to keep out hostile organizations and enemy agents from penetrating and taking the lead at this festival which will be held, after all, in capitalist surroundings. Yet, there is a positive element in holding the festival in a capitalist country. He said that it was hard to get some people to go beyond the borders of the socialist countries to attend the festivals held in Warsaw, Prague and Moscow. It should be easy for people to travel to Vienna, if they are afraid of passport or visa difficulties, because the festival is being held in a capitalist country.

World Youth Festival, although it is being held in Vienna. However, in view of the official action taken by the Austrian Government, ROMANOVSKY doubts that the Social Democrats or the members of the Socialist Youth Federation will actively oppose the World Youth Festival. While they may try to keep their members from participating in it, they dare not oppose the decisions of the government.

ROMANOVSKY said that it should be kept in mind that this festival will take place in hostile surroundings. After all, Austria is a capitalist country and undoubtedly enemy agents will start working now and the festival will be deluged with such agents. Secondly, there will be a serious financial problem in connection with this festival. When it was held in Moscow the delegates were charged a very nominal fee, approximately $2.00 a day, and were supplied with housing, meeting places and food. Even expense money was provided for those who needed it, particularly those in sympathetic delegations. Thus, all the delegations really needed was money for transportation to and from Moscow. In addition, some delegations received help through the international fund of the World Youth Festival Committee. He said that in Vienna they will probably price them to death or will try to do so. Thus, it will be necessary for the youth delegations or organizations to begin raising a little more money than last time. Yet, money will not be the main obstacle which will prevent delegations from going to Vienna since they can make appeals to this Preparatory Committee and will also be able to obtain some international funds of the World Youth Festival Committee.

ROMANOVSKY cited figures to show that there has been a constant increase in attendance at the World Youth Festivals. The largest meeting was the one held in Moscow when about 30,000 delegates from all over the world were in attendance. He said that they do not expect as many delegates to go to Vienna and will be satisfied with an attendance of 18,000 to 20,000.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CPUSA IN REGARD TO THE 1959 WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN VIENNA

ROMANOVSKY suggested that I inform the CPUSA about the 1959 World Youth Festival in Vienna. He suggested that the CPUSA should meet with youth leaders and begin to make preparations right now. The CPUSA should also urge as many

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: August 21, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

REC 61 pg. 3, 4

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 7, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This seventeenth and last letter in this phase of the "SOLO" operation deals with the last few days in Moscow, information pertaining to individuals in Russia, and comments of CG 5824-S* concerning this entire operation.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(5)

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/87
DELETE

100-428091-51

REC-61 20 AUG 23 1958

2 ENCLOSURE - Retained in 134-46

REC-61

52 SEP 4 1958

INT./SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BSA-MLB
#906318

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB

August 21, 1958

#906)14

LAST DAYS IN MOSCOW

I returned from China by Russian jet plane on July 9, 1958. While I was supposed to meet with NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, my stay in China had been extended and NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and OTTO KUUSINEN left Russia on July 8, 1958, for the Congress of the Eastern German Communist Party, which started on July 10, 1958.

At the time of my return to Moscow from Sochi about June 25, 1958, at the time of my return to Moscow from China on July 9, 1958, and at the time of my departure from Moscow for Prague, Czechoslovakia, on July 12, 1958, there were all kinds of military vehicles and personnel controlling traffic around the Moscow Airport and the roads leading into the city. A similar situation prevailed at the airport in Peking, China, on July 9, 1958. There were encampments of soldiers in the parks and these were not a part of the military personnel at the Ming Tombs Reservoir. I cannot say whether these were merely summer maneuvers or whether they had some connection with the developing crisis in the Middle East.

All the other meetings that were scheduled for me after my return from China were cancelled, except for the meeting with the Cuban underground leader and contacts with NICOLAI MATKOVSKY (ph) and ALEXAI GRENCHENCO (ph), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All of a sudden they began to rush me. I can only attribute this to the delay in China and to the international situation. I think that they were anxious to get me past Prague, Czechoslovakia, in the event that trouble broke out in the Middle East. I am sure that the rush had nothing to do with a lack of confidence in me. During the last few days in Moscow, they were very attentive. They took us to a large department store through a secret entrance. We were able to order items without going into the store itself. I was treated with respect about equal to that which a General Secretary of a Communist Party would receive.

The Russians took minutes of the official meetings I had with members of the Central Committee. They were supposed to compare notes with me. Instead, they gave me a reading of their minutes, and NICOLAI said that I had to leave my notes in Russia. He said, You can remember the basic things. I believe that they are worried stiff about notes which concern their leading Party people.

The day before I left Russia, I wrote another letter to

100-428091-51

- ENCLOSURE

the Central Committee. In this letter, I said that the Central Committee had helped to clarify a number of problems, particularly in relation to a Party program for the Communist Party - USA. I also stated that answers which had been given to me by the Central Committee on a number of questions had been verified as I travelled throughout the Soviet Union and through my conversations with local Party leaders, workers in the factories, collective farmers, etc. I promised that I would take up with the leadership of the Communist Party - USA the questions which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had raised, such as more frequent contacts, the sending of more delegations to Moscow in the future, the sending of young people to Moscow for training, etc. I thanked the Central Committee for its proletarian internationalism and for the care and consideration they had given for our material welfare. I thanked the representatives of the International Department, who were in daily contact with us, for their co-operation and for making the journey a success.

The Russians gave me $400 for transportation and similar expenses and for the purchase of souvenirs in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Once we arrived in Prague, we started to act as typical American tourists. They also gave me the following address for the mailing of material published by the Communist Party - USA: Main Post Office Box 341, Moscow, USSR.

INFORMATION PERTAINING TO INDIVIDUALS

[redacted]

The Russians thought very highly of [redacted] While [redacted] was in Russia, he learned to read and write Russian. Several people with whom I talked asked what had happened to the [redacted]s. YURI IVANOV, of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is a particularly good friend of [redacted] [redacted] taught IVANOV all the songs in "My Fair Lady" and other American songs. The [redacted]s lived in a dachi in Moscow known as "Seribniabor" (phonetic -- means "silver woods"). YURI IVANOV gave me a silver spoon to give to the [redacted]s. b6 b7C

It is noted that there is no such thing as individual correspondence for the Russians.

EUGENE DENNIS told me on July 23, 1958, that he did not know the [redacted]s.

The Wife and Son of [redacted]

[redacted] told me that [redacted]'s wife is in

Russia. He said that she was in exile in a labor camp for about eighteen years and has just come back from this labor camp.

The [redacted] have a son named [redacted] said that he is a very brilliant civil engineer. He was raised in a home and just met his mother recently. He claims that she was framed and that because of [redacted]'s activities, she was punished. The child was too young to be punished, so he was allowed to go to school. [redacted] went to a special school for Americans. Funds for their education came from a committee for international aid. [redacted] lives in [redacted]

By way of background, I had arranged a code with [redacted] in order to communicate with him about Party matters when he left Moscow in the early 1930's. We discontinued our association when he was expelled from the Communist Party - USA in 1934 or 1935. He was a part of the FOSTER group during the fight with J. LOVESTONE. He had been sent to Venezuela and was arrested there. When he got out of jail, he went back to the United States and broke with the Communist Party. He was expelled by EARL BROWDER.

[redacted] who currently works in the National Office of the Communist Party - USA, told me that when they had a cleansing in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January, 1930, [redacted] and others all bore witness against her. She said that she thought that she would never see the light of day after this cleansing was completed, but a person named [redacted] from the Comintern, saved her.

USSR

b6
b7C

[redacted]

In conversations with [redacted] both at his and at my apartment in Moscow, he said that he has not been satisfied with his studies lately. He has a number of degrees, including a Ph.D. He said that he does not intend to be a routine personage or even a routine Party leader. He said that he likes to delve deeply into history and Communist theory. He said this is the only way he can work. He commented that MAO Tse-tung's thoughts are similar. He said that he hopes to be able to participate in political work, but not purely as a politician. He wants to participate in the field of history and in a deeper study of politics.

[redacted] said that the book "[redacted]" is only a portion of a thesis which he has written on the Negro question. He said he had been a news analyst and commentator on international radio. He has been working with the International Department of the Central

working with International Department of the C.P.S.U.

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for about one year. They are grooming him. He is considered to be an expert on America, American labor history, and on history in general. He is now being utilized by the Central Committee as one of a delegation of ten from Moscow who will work on the English language section of the international Communist magazine which is being published in Prague, Czechoslovakia. The emphasis will be on the United States in the English language section of this magazine. He has been writing articles in various Soviet magazines and newspapers. He said that he was not too happy about this because he wants to write more learned articles. He has also been participating in many discussions in the Academy of Political Science and Economy.

[redacted] is making a lot of money. He objected to the fact that we brought gifts to him. He said that he can afford to support his father now. He commands a high base salary and also gets paid for the articles he writes. His wife, who is about 21 years of age, is studying geopolitics and has one year of study left. She gets paid for going to school. They have a very nice apartment. She will join [redacted] in Prague in September.

He is currently using the name [redacted] which means '[redacted]'. This is his public name. In regard to this name, he said that at one time he needed a passport to go to England with a delegation. So they hurriedly thought up this name for him. He is very nice looking. He looks like his mother. He would like to believe that he looks like his father (whoever he may be). He is about [redacted] tall, has dark eyes, weighs about [redacted] lbs., and has [redacted], which he is [redacted]

I would have obtained more information from [redacted] if I had had an opportunity to see him more frequently. He will talk to me in confidence because I am supposed to be a friend of his father. He was very happy to hear about the main resolution presented by EUGENE DENNIS and adopted at the February meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party - USA. I did not give him details in regard to my discussions with the Russian leadership. I also did not tell him too much about the situation in the Communist Party - USA, except for some generalities.

I was supposed to see [redacted] in Prague in order to obtain his address, but I did not contact him in Prague. I gave him an address in Chicago for the purpose of writing letters to me for delivery to his father and mother.

He gave me photographs of his wife and small son to give to his parents. He said that ALEXAI GRENCHENCO and NICOLAI MATKOVSKY

would not permit him to send photographs of himself because there might be too strong a family resemblance.

When I spoke with [redacted] in New York City on July 23, 1958, he did not know that he has a grandson named "[redacted]".

[redacted]

I wanted to see [redacted] the granddaughter of [redacted] NICOLAI and ALEXAI dissuaded me from doing this. I said that I could not return to the United States without seeing her. NICOLAI said, Let me tell you about her. She is mentally ill. We have taken her to every hospital and to specialists. She refused to submit to therapy. The doctors made certain suggestions which might have helped her, but we could not budge her.

b6
b7C

NICOLAI said that they gave her an apartment. Everyone who has gone to see her up to the present time has been thrown down the steps. IRVING POTASH was slapped in the face. TIM BUCK was slapped twice. NICOLAI said she also slapped him in the face. [redacted] said he will not go near her again.

They give her one thousand rubles a month in cash through the International Red Cross. She has become an alcoholic. She spends some money on food, but mostly on liquor. She cannot speak.

She has a three and one-half room apartment in a large apartment building on [redacted] (phonetic -- means "[redacted]"). They finally pursuaded me to just take a look at the apartment. Ordinarily, they would place such a person in a mental institution, but they would not do it to the granddaughter of [redacted]

MEETING WITH EUGENE DENNIS IN NEW YORK CITY ON JULY 23, 1958

On July 23, 1958, I met with EUGENE DENNIS in New York City, and gave him some details of my trip. I did not complete my discussions with DENNIS at this time. DENNIS' comments have been set forth in the various portions of this report. My brother and I met DENNIS, and he asked where we had rented the car, what the procedure was, etc. We showed DENNIS the bill from the Hertz Company. DENNIS commented that a rented car cannot be wired. Then during the trip toward Poughkeepsie, we occasionally stopped suddenly, pulled off the road, and let the cars behind us go by. It was a damn good thing we did not do it any other way, or we

would have had problems with DENNIS, who is extremely security conscious. As it was, most of the important part of the discussion was conducted outside of the car in parks and in wooded areas.

COMMENTS CONCERNING THIS TRIP TO RUSSIA AND CHINA

I think that this trip was successful because we were able to be the first ones to penetrate the secret precincts of Russia and China and were able to open up the lines of communication. So, we have some control over the lines of communication as of now. We also have knowledge of the means of communication. We know that ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG is the center for communications directly with the Russians. We knew it in general before, but we could not verify it. Now we have verified it.

Also, the door is open for the future both for contacts in the Soviet Union and in China, with one or two qualifications. One cannot make such a trip as an individual unless there is some kind of a mandate from the National Committee or from individual leaders in the Party. Unless I am elected to the National Committee, a similar trip in the future will be more difficult. The promise has been made to me by JAMES JACKSON that I will be added to the National Committee, but there is no guarantee of this. Also, I did not want to be added to the National Committee publicly. While I would like to be added to the National Committee, I would be in a better position if I were a so-called "quiet" member. Publicity would not help us any, but a title of some sort which is more definite than the titles I now have could help us in future endeavors in this regard.

Another drawback has been the decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to passports. Until this decision, we had a monopoly. This decision has made it a bit more difficult for us. I do not mean by this that they are going to open up new lines of communications. First of all, DENNIS would not do it right now. He would not dare to start all over again. If he tried to change connections, he would be undermining himself. He may reward some people with a trip to Russia for the purpose of attending some anniversary celebration or something similar to this; however, this would be different from sending someone to Russia as an official delegate from the Communist Party - USA. Further, the Russians would not talk to a person going to Russia for that purpose as freely and in as much detail as they did with me. Also, I doubt that the Russians would want to change the arrangements right away. They know that I was a representative of the Secretariat and the DENNIS leadership of the Communist Party - USA, and they are satisfied with this. If we follow through by sending material published by the Communist Party - USA

to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and if this material is not impeded in transit, then we will be in a pretty solid position. No one else is in a position at this moment to supply them with the information they want. We should try to strengthen our hold on this apparatus, which leads to the two most powerful groups in the international Communist movement. I still put the Soviet Union first, and China next.

We dealt with most of the important people, even if we did not deal with all of them. With the exception of an individual here and there, we dealt with the most important people in the international Communist movement. Yet, our connections in the Soviet Union are pretty limited. We will have to decide how to build up the hold we have now. We have not finished the job as yet. While they invited me to return to Russia, it is necessary to have a political mandate from the Communist Party - USA for a really successful trip.

No one knows that I travelled with an American passport. EUGENE DENNIS assumes that I returned to the United States through another country, such as Canada or Mexico. When ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG asked me if the "people up North" (Canadians) gave me a lift, I answered affirmatively. The Russians will not tell anyone from the Communist Party - USA that I travelled on an American passport. Therefore, we should consider whether or not it would be advisable for me to file for a passport in my own name and in another city before any Congressional legislation is passed in regard to passport restrictions.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 15, 1958

FROM SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906318

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

Re Chicago letters (two) dated August 8, 1958, reflecting that BORIS PONOMAREV, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had participated in the formal meetings which CG 5824-S* had with the leadership of the CCCPSU, and that CG 5824-S* had met with PONOMAREV and NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH MATKOVSKY (ph), Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, in regard to funds for the Communist Party - USA.

On August 14, 1958, CG 5824-S* called attention to the attached photograph, which appeared in the August 18, 1958, edition of "Time" magazine. CG 5824-S* stated that the man in the background in this photograph is PONOMAREV and that in the opinion of the informant, the position of BORIS PONOMAREV in this photograph indicates that he may have been the number two man to NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on this particular trip.

ENCLOSURE REC. 60

(2) - Bureau (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED) EX-113
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(3)

IIS-HOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

REC. 50 100-428091-52
EX-113
29
14 AUG 18 1958

1-22-58
8-26-58
NCT - checked

63 SEP 4 1958

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-428091-59

F B I

SECRET

Date: 8/20/58

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

NIS-NIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

Remytel to Bureau and Chicago captioned NY 694-S*, dated 8/14/58. (U)

Utmost care must be used in handling and reporting the following information to protect identity of informant.

On 8/19/58, NY 694-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past (conceal), orally furnished information to SA [redacted] of the NYO regarding informant's trip to Maine in the period 8/15-18/58, wherein he accompanied CG 5824-S* in a contact with EUGENE DENNIS. (U)

Classified by SP4BJA/ELM
Declassify on: OADR
8-29-84

4 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
1 - 100-428091)(SOLO)
1 - Boston (100-)(CP,USA - ORGANIZATION)(RM)(INFO)
3 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(SOLO)(RM)
(1 - 134-46)(CG 5824-S*)
(1 - 100-33741)(CP,USA - ORGANIZATION)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-134637 (SOLO)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-93796 (PEGGY DENNIS)(12-15)
1 - NY 100-81338 (CP,USA - SECURITY MEASURES)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-74560 (CP,USA - FUNDS)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-128861 (CP,USA - RESERVE FUNDS)(7-5)
1 - NY 100-50873 (GEORGE SISKIND)(7-2)
1 - NY 100-26915 (BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON)(7-2)
1 - NY 100-80641 (7-5)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA.MLB
ON 3-22-00
#906318

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED
186 AUG 25 1958

DR:msb (7-0)
(20)

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

51 AUG 27 1958

SECRET

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6
b7C

NY 100-80641

NY 694-S* advised informant left NYC by plane on Friday, 8/15/58, arriving on the same date at 10:30 a.m. in Boston. Informant met CG 5824-S* in Boston, after the latter had arrived by plane from Chicago. NY 694-S* rented a Hertz automobile, and both informants proceeded towards Bangor, Maine, intending to meet EUGENE DENNIS in front of the Post Office at Stonington, Maine, at noon on 8/16/58, as had been pre-arranged. On the evening of 8/15/58, both informants stopped over at a motel on the outskirts of Bangor. S (U)

Early in the a.m. of 8/16/58, both informants departed for Stonington, Maine, where they arrived approximately 10:00 a.m. and waited in a restaurant where they could observe traffic in front of the Post Office. At approximately 10:30 a.m., EUGENE DENNIS and his wife, PEGGY DENNIS, arrived in an automobile (NY 694-S* advised this automobile was also a Hertz rented car bearing New York registration and was a 1958 Chevrolet Bel-Air Sedan.) and indicated to the informants that they should follow his automobile. S (U)

NY 694-S* drove his car in back of DENNIS for several miles until DENNIS turned into a wooded picnic area beyond Stonington. When informants engaged DENNIS in conversation at this point, the latter indicated he did not desire to talk there, and it was agreed that informants would drive in the direction of Bar Harbor, Maine, where they would spend the night at a motel seven miles south of Bar Harbor on Route 3, and DENNIS would reside in a motel approximately one mile north of Bar Harbor. NY 694-S* commented that EUGENE DENNIS was apparently somewhat familiar with this area and knew the identities of the motels in which he instructed informants to stop. S (U)

NY 694-S* commented that while in the picnic grove, a car steered into the area, backed up, and drove out of the area, and this action apparently unnerved DENNIS to the extent that for security reasons he declined to engage in extended conversation in this area. S (U)

Allowing approximately six to seven hours to get to Bar Harbor and settle down in the motel, it was agreed by the

S (U)

informants and DENNIS that they would meet at six that evening at DENNIS' motel, approximately one mile north of Bar Harbor. Informants met DENNIS at the motel and they proceeded in the informant's rented car in the direction of Jordan's Pond, which they circled around, and with NY 694-S* driving, stopped at a remote restaurant on Highway #3. At the restaurant, it was agreed that CG 5824-S* and GENE DENNIS would again meet for talks on the a.m. of 8/17/58, at which time CG 5824-S* would be picked up at the informant's motel and they would drive to a suitable place. It was also agreed that NY 694-S* would "disappear" to allow CG 5824-S* and DENNIS to engage in private conversation for the entire day on 8/17/58. $(U)

It is noted NY 694-S* commented that at this point, EUGENE DENNIS confided in the informants that his wife, PEGGY, was unaware that CG 5824-S* had travelled in connection with the SOLO operation. It was agreed by DENNIS and the informants that DENNIS would tell his wife briefly, but not in detail, regarding the SOLO operation. $(U)

On Sunday, 8/17/58, in the a.m., as previously agreed, DENNIS, in the company of his wife, picked up CG 5824-S* at the latter's motel and they drove to a mountain area where they would talk and picnic (as a cover). NY 694-S* commented that PEGGY DENNIS, although in the company of the informant and EUGENE DENNIS, would not sit in on the conversations. NY 694-S*, himself, went fishing to cover his activities. $(U)

At approximately 6:00 p.m. on 8/17/58, DENNIS, his wife and CG 5824-S* picked up NY 694-S* at the latter's motel, and they had dinner at a local restaurant and agreed to meet at the DENNIS motel on Monday, 8/18/58. $(U)

On 8/18/58, NY 694-S*, CG 5824-S* and EUGENE DENNIS conferred in the latter's motel kitchen, with PEGGY DENNIS present in the other room. NY 694-S*, in the presence of CG 5824-S*, advised DENNIS of the information regarding the "World Marxist Review" that informant had been asked to convey to DENNIS by TIM BUCK, Canadian LPP leader, on a recent trip to Canada. NY 694-S* pointed out to DENNIS the problems concerning the printing of this world Communist publication in Canada, the price, and

$(U)

distribution, and conveyed to DENNIS, BUCK's suggestion that an individual be appointed by the CP, USA to be responsible for distribution of the publication in the U. S. (U)

(It is noted information regarding the world Communist publication was forwarded to the Bureau by airtel dated 8/5/58, captioned SASH, ESP - R.) (U)

NY 694-S* then made available to DENNIS the handwritten note on the back of an envelope informant had been given by TIM BUCK to forward to EUGENE DENNIS. Informant commented that the salutation and signature had been cut off this note by the informant prior to giving it to DENNIS. (U)

(It is noted full information regarding the above-described note was forwarded to the Bureau by airtel dated 8/6/58, captioned CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IS - C. The note, which was apparently forwarded to BUCK by LESLIE MORRIS who had recently returned from abroad, set out that BEATRICE SISKIND had asked MORRIS in Berlin that the CP,USA be suggested to utilize the services of GEORGE SISKIND, currently in Poland, in an editorial capacity on the new world Communist journal.) (U)

It is noted NY 694-S* advised that during this conversation, DENNIS insisted that a portable radio be turned on and that the information be conveyed to him by NY 694-S* in handwritten notes. After furnishing the information to DENNIS, the informant advised DENNIS destroyed both the handwritten notes and the SISKIND note in the fireplace. DENNIS nodded and indicated to NY 694-S* that he would discuss the matters conveyed to him by NY 694-S* with CG 5824-S* (U)

Later on Monday, 8/18/58, NY 694-S* took PEGGY DENNIS for a drive in the automobile, leaving DENNIS and CG 5824-S* alone to further discuss matters pertaining to the SOLO operation. NY 694-S* and PEGGY DENNIS returned about noon, at which time it was indicated that the conversation between DENNIS and CG 5824-S* was completed for the time being. (U)

It is noted NY 694-S* advised that while driving PEGGY DENNIS on the a.m. of 8/18/58, she commented that EUGENE DENNIS

(U)

"never talks to her" regarding the details of CP politics. $(U)

NY 694-S* briefly discussed with EUGENE DENNIS the fact that $2300 had been spent for the expenses of the last National Committee meeting out of the $10,000 that had previously been made available to NY 694-S* by ROBERT THOMPSON to hold as a reserve. $(U)

It was agreed by the informants and EUGENE DENNIS that NY 694-S* would not divulge to anyone that he had seen EUGENE DENNIS during the week end, and that he was not to tell [redacted] office worker at CP National Headquarters, that he had conferred with DENNIS. It was also agreed by DENNIS and NY 694-S* that any future contacts between DENNIS and the informants would be made through [redacted] by mail. DENNIS stated that he intended to return to NYC after Labor Day. $(U)

b6
b7C

Before DENNIS and the informants departed company, DENNIS gave to NY 694-S* some personal photographs of his grandchild and daughter-in-law that had been given to DENNIS by CG 5824-S*, the latter having received them in connection with the SOLO operation. DENNIS asked NY 694-S* to make copies of these photographs in the informant's personal dark room and to return them directly to him. $(U)

NY 694-S* and CG 5824-S* had lunch with EUGENE and PEGGY DENNIS and then departed from the Bar Harbor area for Boston, where they took a plane to NYC, arriving in New York on the evening of 8/18/58. $(U)

The above has been set out as a chronological summary of activity that took place during the period 8/15/58 to 8/18/58 when informants conferred with EUGENE DENNIS in Maine. Additional data and details of the conversations of CG 5824-S* and EUGENE DENNIS will be furnished to the Bureau by the Chicago Division. $(U)

CG 5824-S* intends to remain in NYC on 8/19, 20 and possibly 21, where he will be engaged in activities at CP National Headquarters, after which time he will return to Chicago. $(U)

For information.

FOSTER

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) (S)(U) DATE: August 25, 1958 (S)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO [redacted] (S)(U)

SUBJECT: SOLO (S)(U)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SECRET

RECORDED

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT. (S)(U)

b6
b7C

Reference is made to previous "SOLO" letters, in which information is set forth that [redacted] was in Moscow for the purpose of establishing a headquarters for the leadership of the Communist Party - USA in exile during the period of the underground operations of the Communist Party - USA. (S)(U)

CG 5824-S*, on August 7, 1958, orally furnished the information appearing on the following page to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This information was reduced to writing on August 22, 1958. (S)(U)

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED) (S)(U)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw (4) (S)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 JSK/LO 5/21/89
REASON - FCIM 11-1-2.4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/89

(U)

REC-14

100-428091-53 (S)(U)

ENCLOSURE
REC-14

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

EX-139

8-29
21 AUG 26 1958

SECRET

55 SEP 10 1958

INT. SEC.

IIS/IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE
DELETE

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA-MLB
ON 3-22-00
#906318

...e Slip
(Rev. 12-4-57)

Date 8/18/58

To:

[XX] Director
Att. A.H. BELMONT

FILE # 100-428091

[] SAC
[] ASAC
[] Supv.
[] Agent
[] SE
[] CC
[] Steno
[] Clerk

Title SOLO

IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-21-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#96318

ACTION DESIRED

- [] Acknowledge
- [] Assign Reassign
- [] Bring file
- [] Call me
- [] Correct
- [] Deadline
- [] Deadline passed
- [] Delinquent
- [] Discontinue
- [] Expedite
- [] File
- [] Initial & return
- [] Leads need attention
- [] Open Case
- [] Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.
- [] Prepare lead cards
- [] Prepare tickler
- [] Recharge serials
- [] Return assignment card
- [] Return file
- [] Return serials
- [] Search and return
- [] See me
- [] Send Serials
 to
- [X] Submit new charge-out
- [] Submit report by
- [] Type

INT. SEC.

IMPORTANT - URGENT

SAC R. D. AUERBACH

[] See reverse side

Office Chicago

SECRET

August 7, 1958

Since my return from Russia, I learned from either EUGENE DENNIS or JAMES JACKSON in New York City during the week of July 20, 1958, that JOE STAROBIN was also in Moscow for the purpose of preparing a headquarters for the Communist Party - U leadership in exile. While STAROBIN was ostensibly in Europe f the purpose of writing a book, this was only a part of his assi ment and his other task was to make preparations for this head- quarters in exile. (ST W)

I also learned at the same time that MAX WEISS made the decision not to go through with these plans for a headquart in Moscow. It is possible, however, that GIL GREEN may have ha something to do with this decision. (ST W)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA-MLB
ON 3-22-00
206318

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 gpk/81
REASON - FCDR 1.1-2.4.2.2
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/89

SECRET

SECRET

ENCLOSURE

characteristic Hammarskjold touch.) He also hinted at establishment of U.N. observation machinery to check on observance of these pledges and U.N. guarantees of present frontiers in the Middle East.

¶ To facilitate withdrawal of U.S. and British troops, the U.N. Observation Group in Lebanon and the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization in Jordan should become permanent commissions not necessarily armed, which would "show the U.N. flag" in both countries and report any threats to their independence.

¶ To strike at one of the underlying causes of the political upheavals in the Arab world, there should be joint action by the Arab states and the U.N. in a far-ranging economic development program.



KHRUSHCHEV & MAO IN PEKING
Let's keep in touch!

Keystone

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BJA-AW
#906318

The Trip Wire. In drawing up his plan, Dag Hammarskjold had characteristically proceeded from the existing power realities in the Middle East. To begin with, he had to take into account Arab nationalism; he sought to encourage its legitimate development. He sought to create conditions of stability so that Britain and the U.S. might withdraw their troops while retaining their commercial access to the area. He recognized that while the West had no intention of securing its economic interests indefinitely by the overt use of force, neither did it intend to be deprived of those interests by force.

In the long run, the chief hope that the Middle East's welter of conflicting national purposes could peaceably be reconciled lay in the establishment of a set of ground rules that would restrict political change in the Middle East to orderly, nonviolent channels. In essence, what Dag Hammarskjold was proposing was acceptance of such a set of rules and the establishment of a kind of U.N. trip wire to sound the alarm whenever anyone showed a disposition to violate them.

Father & Son

In their tireless effort to determine how Soviet policy is made, Western diplomats are often in the position of anthropologists trying to reconstruct a dinosaur from the evidence of one jawbone. But when Nikita Khrushchev performed his clumsy about-face on the summit meeting last week, the reason was plain to see. He had been driven to it by Red China's Mao Tse-tung.

As has happened before, Khrushchev's cocky impetuosity had got him into trouble. In the days after the Iraqi coup, Nikita conducted his Mideast summit negotiations with the offhand decisiveness of a man who feels no need to consult anyone before he answers his mail. When Eisenhower's note proposing a U.N. summit conference arrived in Moscow, Khrushchev and some of his top aides were in conference with a group of visiting Austrians. "Will you excuse us?" said Nikita. "We have to draft a reply to Eisenhower's letter." In just 20 minutes, his acceptance note outlined, Khrushchev reappeared.

In his self-confidence, Khrushchev ignored the deep-seated hostility inside the Kremlin bureaucracy toward a summit meeting inside U.N.—a hostility clearly indicated by the fact that the first reactions of the kept Soviet press to the proposal were uniformly unfavorable. Worse yet, he obviously failed to keep in touch with Mao, whose journalistic mouthpieces, right up to the moment that Khrushchev accepted the proposal, were denouncing it as "deceptive," "ridiculous," "full of pitfalls."

Then came the flight to Peking—a journey that to gleeful Asians seemed to be Khrushchev's dutiful response to a hurry-up call from Mao. For four days, behind the ancient red walls of Peking's Imperial City, the two arbiters of the Communist world negotiated. When they emerged to shake hands for the photographers, the wiggling line had become the Moscow line as well.

The Crackdown. This was not the first time Mao Tse-tung had made himself felt in Moscow. For two years Communist specialists in the West have been speculating that Mao had something close to a veto over some aspects of Soviet policy. Such speculation began when the Poles and Yugoslavs—soon after the October revolt that brought Wladyslaw Gomulka to power in Warsaw—reported that Mao was pressuring the Soviets to follow a more liberal policy toward the satellites. Warsaw and Belgrade saw Mao as their best champion in the Kremlin.

At that point, Mao was talking big about "letting one hundred flowers bloom"—until the blooming flowers of self-criticism set off such disorder in his own garden that he had to call the whole thing off. From then on, Peking worked against Gomulka and Tito by attacking Yugoslav "revisionism" even more savagely than did the Russians themselves. But the Mao-is-tops theorists stuck to their theory, while reversing their field: now it was not Mao the liberal they cheered, but Mao the hard they feared.

The available pieces of jawbone are not enough to flesh out the skeleton on which that theory hangs. But there could be little doubt that Mao had vetoed the summit. Nor is there much question of a sharpening distinction between current Russian and Chinese approaches. Khrushchev's claim to "liberalism" is belied by Hungary and his earlier days in the Ukraine; but he has pragmatically responded to some of the pressures to "liberalize" Russian life.

Mao is cracking down ever harder, and systematically sealing up every tiny gap in the Bamboo Curtain. The foreign press colony is now almost nonexistent in Peking. In the past six months, nearly two score Chinese servants employed in foreign embassies in Peking (including even that of "comradely" Czechoslovakia) have been whisked off to jail. Last week Mao's government ruled that the embassies and foreign business concerns could no longer hire their own employees; must accept people sent to them by the State Labor Bureau.

Saber & Specter. Obviously, any breath of outside air is, in China's present stage, like too much oxygen. Adult Russians have known nothing but a Communist society for the past 40 years; among educated Chinese, the memory of the atmosphere and another kind of thought is only nine years old. On such people, Mao has to cinch the Marxist straitjacket tighter. He is less free to adopt the Russians' confident approach that "peaceful competition" will lead to ultimate Communist triumph. In the classic fashion of young dictatorships, Red China must rely on "the threat from abroad" as a prop to internal discipline.

All of this was no sign that Mao was now calling the tune in the Communist

100-428091-52
ENCLOSURE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 15, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bureau teletype dated August 14, 1958, requesting submission of necessary data for preparation of certain charts.

The following is the itinerary for the "SOLO" operation showing the modes of travel, important persons contacted, and other activity:

4/24/58	:	Enroute via TWA Airlines from New York City to Paris, France.
4/25/58	:	Arrive Paris, France.
4/25-28/58	:	Enroute from Paris, France, to Brussels, Belgium.
4/28/58	:	Obtaining floating visa for Prague at the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Brussels.
4/29/58	:	Enroute via Sabina Airlines from Brussels, Belgium, to Prague, Czechoslovakia.
		Obtaining floating visa for Russia at Prague, Czechoslovakia.
		Enroute via a Russian jet plane from Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Moscow, Russia.
		Met at Moscow Airport by NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH MATKOVSKY, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

HQ-HOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

REC- 59 100-428091-54

13 9 3

11 AUG 18 1958

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BSA-MLB #906314

EX-135

55 SEP 8 1958

INT. SEC.

CG 134-46 (Sub B)

4/30/58 : Informal welcome to the USSR by V. P. TERESHKIN, Chief Deputy of BORIS PONOMAREV, Head of the International Department of the CCCPSU; NICOLAI MATKOVSKY and ALEXAI ANDREOVICH GRENCHENCO, of the International Department of the CCCPSU.

5/1/58 : Watched May Day Parade in Moscow on television (for security reasons).

5/1-20/58 : Informal discussions with MATKOVSKY, GRENCHENCO, SEMA KUZNETZOV, and YURI SERGEOVITCH IVANOV, all of the International Department of the CCCPSU. Prepared material on the Communist Party - USA and the economic situation in the United States for the CCCPSU. Also, side trips around Moscow, attending the ballet, movies, Lenin Museum, Gorki Museum, the Kremlin, and the agricultural exhibit in Moscow.

5/21-25/58 : Three formal meetings with leading members of the CCCPSU. In attendance were OTTO KUUSINEN, BORIS N. PONOMAREV, PETER N. POSPELOV, M. B. MITIN, and TERESHKIN, MATKOVSKY and IVANOV.

5/25/58 - 6/4/58: Meeting with BORIS PONOMAREV and NICOLAI MATKOVSKY, at which PONOMAREV stated that the CCCPSU agreed to send $200,000 to the Communist Party - USA from that time through December, 1958.

Meeting with (FNU) ROMANOVSKY (ph), one of the Secretaries of the Komsomol of the USSR.

6/4/58 : Enroute via "Red Arrow" train from Moscow to Leningrad.

6/4-8/58 : Visited the shipyard at Leningrad, where "The Lenin", an atomic icebreaker, is being constructed.

Visited a turbine factory, Petarhov (ph) Palace, the Winter Palace, the Hermitage Art Museum, and the Leningrad subway. Met with PETROV, First Secretary of the Leningrad organization of the Communist Party of the

		Soviet Union in Smolny, the headquarters of the CPSU in Leningrad.
6/8-10/58	:	Enroute by train from Leningrad to Kiev.
6/10-14/58	:	Visited collective farms, an electronic instrument factory, and Ukrainian Art Gallery in Kiev.
6/14-15/58	:	Enroute by plane from Kiev to Moscow.
6/15-16/58	:	Enroute by plane from Moscow to Stalingrad.
6/16-20/58	:	Visited battle fields, the tractor factory, an industrial exhibit, and the planitarium containing exhibits concerning the Sputniks. Visited a lock on the Don-Volga Canal. Observed the hydro-electric power station between Stalingrad and the Socialist city of Volzks (ph). Visited Volzks.
6/20/58	:	Enroute to Sochi on the Black Sea.
6/20-24/58	:	Vacation at Sochi.
6/24/58	:	Enroute from Sochi to Moscow by plane.
6/25/58	:	Made arrangements with ALEXAI GRENCHENCO at the Chinese Embassy in Moscow to go to China. (RUSSIA)
6/26-27/58	:	Enroute from Moscow to Omsk, to Irkutsk via Russian jet plane, and from Irkutsk to Ulan Bator and Peking via a Chinese plane.
6/27/58	:	Greeted in Peking, China, by WANG Chia-hsiang, member of the Secretariat and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; LI Chi-hsin, Secretary of the International Liaison Department; YANG Ming-chao, LIN Tang, YU Chi-ying, of the International Liaison Department; and LIU Ning-yi and LI Chu-li, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; and HSIUNG Fu. (CHINA)
6/27/58 - 7/9/58:		In Peking, China. Meetings with WANG Chia-hsiang.

Meeting with TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China.

Meeting with LI Hsien-nien, Vice Chairman, Finance Minister, and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Meeting with KANG Sheng, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat, and the person in charge of ideological work for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

CHINA

Meeting with LIU Ning-yi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and an official in the International Federation of Trade Unions.

7/6/58 : Meeting with MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Chairman of the Government of China. (In Chicago letter dated 8/13/58, the date for the meeting with MAO Tse-tung is given as Sunday evening, 7/8/58. The correct date is Sunday evening, 7/6/58.)

7/9/58 : Enroute via Russian jet plane from Peking to Moscow.

7/9-12/58 : In Moscow, Russia. Meeting with an underground leader of the Communist Party of Cuba, whose identity was not disclosed.

Visited industrial exhibit in Moscow.

7/12/58 : Enroute from Moscow to Prague via a Russian jet plane.

7/12-17/58 : Enroute from Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Zurich, Switzerland, and from Zurich, Switzerland, to London, England.

7/17-20/58 : In London, England. Had discussions with JOHN and MAE WILLIAMSON.

7/20-21/58 : Enroute via TWA Airlines from London, England, to New York City.

T O P S E C R E T

- Liaison
- Mr. Thornton

September 2, 1958

BY COURIER SERVICE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA.MLB
ON 3-22-00
#906318

My dear Mr. Secretary:

With regard to my previous communications, the last of which was dated August 1, 1958, I thought that you would be interested in the following additional information relative to discussions between leading officials of Red China and an official representative of the Communist Party, USA. This information was received from sources which have furnished reliable data in the past.

While discussing the international situation, Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Red Chinese Government, stated that Red China has the Formosan Army in its pocket

Other leading officials of Red China indicated that they are not worried about Formosa. They boasted that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of Chiang Kai-shek but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They also bragged tha they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into Red China but they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

The Chinese officials continued that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa and go crazy in regard to security regulations. They stated tha

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton

100-3-81
1 - 100-428091 (Solo)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

WCT:med (5)

YELLOW DUPLICATE
SEP 2 1958
MAILED

100-428091
NOT RECORDED
46 SEP 4 19

The Honorable
The Secretary of State

people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. As an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa by the Americans, they stated that there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. They continued that the Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which will rise like a storm at an opportune moment.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

The foregoing is also being furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, The Vice President; the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; and the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 9-2-58, captioned "Solo, IS-C," WCT:med.

This memorandum classified "~~Top Secret~~" since it contains information from a most valuable informant. Unauthorized disclosure of this information could easily jeopardize our informant, thereby considerably weakening our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, which could possibly result in grave damage to the national defense.

TOP SECRET

1 - Mr. Thornto
- Liaison

100-3-81

Date: September 2, 1958

To: Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Chief, Security Division

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BJA.M
ON 3-22-06

#966318

The following information relative to recent discussions between leading officials of Red China and an official representative of the Communist Party, USA, has been received from sources which have furnished reliable data in the past.

While discussing the international situation, Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Red Chinese Government, stated that Red China has the Formosan Army in its pocket.

Other leading officials of Red China indicated that they are not worried about Formosa. They boasted that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of Chiang Kai-shek but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into Red China but they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

100-428091

NOT RECORDED
126 SEP 5 1958

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room

(1) - 100-428091 (Solo)

WCT:med

YELLOW DUPLICATE
SEP 2 - 1958
MAILED

SEP 9 1958

TOP SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence

The Chinese officials continued that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa and go crazy in regard to security regulations. They stated that people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. As an example of th mistreatment of people on Formosa by the Americans, they stated that there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. They continued that the Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which will rise like a storm at an opportune moment.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

The foregoing is also being furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, The Vice President; the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; and the Attorney General.

1 - Director of Naval Intelligence

1 - Office of Special Investigations
Air Force

NOTE ON YELLOW:

It is noted that to date, we have not disseminated information obtained from our Solo operation to the intelli agencies of the Armed Forces. However, in view of the direc interest which those agencies have in the above information, felt that it should be disseminated to them at this time.

This memorandum classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ since it contains information from a most valuable informant. Unauthorized disclosure of this information could easily jeopardize our informant, thereby considerably weakening our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, which could possibly in grave damage to the national defense.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Thornton

September 2, 1958

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Gordon Gray
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gray:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA-MLB
ON 3-22-00 #986318

With regard to my previous communications, the last of which was dated August 1, 1958, I thought that the President and you would be interested in the following additional information relative to discussions between leading officials of Red China and an official representative of the Communist Party, USA. This information was received from sources which have furnished reliable data in the past.

While discussing the international situation, Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Red Chinese Government, stated that Red China has the Formosan Army in its pocket.

Other leading officials of Red China indicated that they are not worried about Formosa. They boasted that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of Chiang Kai-shek but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into Red China but they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

The Chinese officials continued that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa and go crazy in regard to security regulations. They stated that

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

MAIL ROOM

100-3-81
1 - 100-428091 (Solo)
59

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

WCT:med
(5)

100-428091

YELLOW DUPLICATE NOT RECORDED
SEP 2 - 1958
MAILED
46 SEP 4 1958

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Gordon Gray

people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. As an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa by the Americans, they stated that there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. They continued that the Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which will rise like a storm at an opportune moment.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

The foregoing is also being furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, The Vice President; the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; and the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 9-2-58, captioned "Solo, IS-C," WCT:med.

This memorandum classified "~~Top Secret~~" since it contains information from a most valuable informant. Unauthorized disclosure of this information could easily jeopardize our informant, thereby considerably weakening our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, which could possibly result in grave damage to the national defense.

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Thornton

September 2, 1958

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
The Vice President
Washington 25, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 BSA-MLB
ON 3-22-00
#906318

Dear Dick:

With regard to my previous communications, the last of which was dated August 1, 1958, I thought that you would be interested in the following additional information relative to discussions between leading officials of Red China and an official representative of the Communist Party, USA. This information was received from sources which have furnished reliable data in the past.

While discussing the international situation, Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Red Chinese Government, stated that Red China has the Formosan Army in its pocket.

Other leading officials of Red China indicated that they are not worried about Formosa. They boasted that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of Chiang Kai-shek but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into Red China but they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

The Chinese officials continued that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa and go crazy in regard to security regulations. They stated that

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

100-3-81
(1) - 100-428091 (Solo)
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

100-428091
NOT RECORDED
46 SEP 4 1958

YELLOW DUPLICATE
SEP 2 - 1958
MAILED

WCT:mcd
65 SEP 9 1958

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Honorable Richard M. Nixon

people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. As an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa by the Americans, they stated that there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. They continued that the Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which will rise like a storm at an opportune moment.

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

The foregoing is also being furnished to the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State; and the Attorney General.

Sincerely,

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 9-2-58, captioned "Solo, IS-C," WCT:med.

This memorandum classified "~~Top Secret~~" since it contains information from a most valuable informant. Unauthorized disclosure of this information could easily jeopardize our informant, thereby considerably weakening our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, which could possibly result in grave damage to the national defense.

TOP SECRET

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Thornton

The Attorney General

September 2, 1958

Director, FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4BJA MLB
ON 3-22-80
#96318

With regard to my previous communications, the last of which was dated August 1, 1958, I thought that you would be interested in the following additional information relative to discussions between leading officials of Red China and an official representative of the Communist Party, USA. This information was received from sources which have furnished reliable data in the past.

While discussing the international situation, Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Red Chinese Government, stated that Red China has the Formosan Army in its pocket.

Other leading officials of Red China indicated that they are not worried about Formosa. They boasted that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of Chiang Kai-shek but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into Red China but they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

The Chinese officials continued that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa and go crazy in regard to security regulations. They stated that people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. As an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa by the Americans, they stated that there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. They continued that the Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which will rise like a storm at an opportune moment.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-81-8316

100-428091

NOT RECORDED
126 SEP 3 1958

YELLOW DUPLICATE
SEP 2 - 1958
MAILED

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

100-3-81

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

(7) - 100-428091 (Solo)

MAIL ROOM

51 SEP 4 1958

TOP SECRET

Mailed (7)

The Attorney General

In view of the extremely sensitive nature of the sources of our information, it is requested that the contents of this communication be afforded the most careful security and its use restricted to a need-to-know basis.

The foregoing is also being furnished to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, The Vice President; the Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President; and the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

See memo Baumgardner to Belmont dated 9-2-58, captioned "Solo, IS-C," WCT:med.

This memorandum classified "Top Secret" since it contains information from a most valuable informant. Unauthorized disclosure of this information could easily jeopardize our informant, thereby considerably weakening our coverage of the Communist Party, USA, which could possibly result in grave damage to the national defense.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 2, 1958

FROM : MR. F. J. BAUMGARDNER

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906318

Solo is code name for operation involving CG 5824-S as official liaison representative between Communist Party (CP), USA, and Soviet Union and Red China.

Certain highlights of information as obtained from our informant have been previously disseminated to Vice President Nixon, Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President, Secretary of State and the Attorney General by memoranda July 24, 25, 31 and August 1, 1958. Additional dissemination has been withheld pending forthcoming briefing of Cabinet by Director unless information appears to be of such urgency that its dissemination should not be held up.

It is noted that a portion of the information as obtained by our informant pertains to the attitude of Red China toward Formosa and indicated that Red China is not worried about Formosa. In view of the current international situation, it is felt that this information should be promptly disseminated.

ACTION:

There are attached for your approval appropriate communications to Vice President Nixon, Honorable Gordon Gray, Special Assistant to the President, Secretary of State and the Attorney General under a "Top Secret" classification which contains the information reflecting the attitude of Red China toward Formosa.

WCT

We should pass liaison on to the military also

Enclosures Recd 9-2-58
100-428091
1 - 100-3-81 (CPUSA, International Relations)
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Thornton
WCT:med
(5)

REC- 13 100-428091-55

12 SEP 4 1958

5-WCT

55 SEP 9 59 1958

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-81

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 9/3/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO [redacted]

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on August 25, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several Dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [redacted] This transcription is located in Chicago file [redacted] The information on the following pages, which pertains to a meeting with ROBERT THOMPSON, is contained in this transcription.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906314

IIS HOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

REC-15 100-428091-56

EX-138 21 SEP 4 1958

INT./SEC.

55 SEP 10 1958

August 25, 1958

After the meeting of the Resident National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA on Tuesday, August 19, 1958, ROBERT THOMPSON asked whether I would have dinner with him and then spend a few hours with him after dinner and before he goes to meet some people. He said that he had a number of things that he wanted to discuss with me. I agreed and we left the National Office and went to some kind of a joint, a saloon, called, I believe, Donlan's or Donovan's, on 28th Street between Broadway and Fifth Avenue in New York City.

First of all, THOMPSON said that he knows that I was abroad, although EUGENE DENNIS did not say that it was I. He asked me if I would want to talk to him a little about some of the problems. I told him what GENE DENNIS had told me, that in the very near future there would be an official meeting and I would give a report at that meeting.

I gave him a brief resume, emphasizing, of course, his role in the Communist Party - USA. That is, that the chief Parties in the Communist International consider the present leadership of the Communist Party - USA a stable leadership and the leadership of the Party. Also, that the Russians will not support any ultra-Left group or any other faction. Further, that he, as well as WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EUGENE DENNIS, are considered a basic part of this new American anti-revisionist leadership.

We did not go into any detailed discussion. I just gave him a sketch of some of the important political thinking and deferred further discussion. He asked me some questions about the Yugoslav situation. He asked how the Russians reconciled their attitude in 1954, 1955, 1956, etc., with the present attitude toward Yugoslavia. He asked, Isn't it sort of an abrupt turnabout? How do they explain it away? I told him that I could not speak for the Russians. The Russians said that they had nothing to lose. They thought that they could test TITO and reach some agreement with him over the years. While it was a good try, it failed.

After this brief discussion about international affairs, I told THOMPSON that I have a few practical matters to take up with him. I asked him what he did with my communication regarding the convention of the Communist Party of Uruguay. He informed me that a telegram was sent to the Communist Party of Uruguay.

I gave him the address of the Preparatory Committee for the World Youth Congress in Vienna. He was told a little about

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-22-00 BY SP4 BJA-MLB #906318

this World Youth Congress. I also told him that they want a list of youth organizations and asked if he would undertake to send this list. He replied that if I would give him the address, he would do this. I was glad to get rid of this task and gave the address to him. I did not give him any report on my discussion with ROMANOVSKY.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

REC 15

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 19, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/81
DELETE

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 7, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This fifteenth letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation dealing with visits to places and institutions in and around Peking, China. It also contains comments of CG 5824-S* on the Communist Party of China, information pertaining to individuals in China, and the conclusion of the trip to China.

It is possible that the people in China whose last name is [redacted] are [redacted] The Bufile for [redacted] is 100-46895. Chicago files reflect that the home address of [redacted] was [redacted] Avenue, New York City, while she was attending [redacted] from 19[redacted] to 19[redacted] Her father, [redacted] was a banker and she came from a wealthy family. [redacted] has a Ph.D from [redacted] and in 1940 he was working as a [redacted] at [redacted] in [redacted] had an uncle, [redacted] who was a [redacted] at [redacted].

b6
b7C

EX-101 REC-15 100-428091-57

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-22-00 BY SP4 BSP-MLB 59 M 906 318

55 SEP 12 1958

21 1958

INT. SEC.

August 19, 1958

I. PLACES VISITED IN AND AROUND PEKING

A. Ming Tombs Reservoir

I went to the opening of a reservoir called Ming Tombs Reservoir. It is outside Peking, and is near the burial place of the Ming dynasty. There were thousands of troops quartered there in tents. Thousands of people, including the Army, helped to build this reservoir. They had been working on it day and night since November, 1957, in order to complete it before the rainy season in July and August. The troops participated in the ceremonies as a part of the builders of the reservoir. One of the Generals in command marched with the civilian dignitaries. I was told that the Army helps to build railroads and factories, since they might as well utilize them, even though they are in uniform. They have such centralized control that they can utilize everything in a military or semi-military fashion, including the labor force. They admit that they still have forced labor camps, although I do not have any information concerning them.

CHINA

CHOU En-lai spent nearly two weeks working and pushing a wheelbarrow at this reservoir. I saw photographs in the paper depicting this. The Chinese comrades told me that when CHOU En-lai arrived at the reservoir, the Chief Engineer and others thanked the leadership for visiting the reservoir. CHOU En-lai replied that they were not there as leaders, but merely as Chinese citizens in order to participate in the construction. He said, We are all equals. They described how he broke in on the job in the same manner as the others, ate the same foods, sang songs they sang, and received no special favors.

9 TAI TING-CHANG PEKING CHINA

Practically every leader in the Communist Party of China is going through this type of thing. The wife of TANG Ming-Chao, of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has been on a farm for six months. She was sent there by the Party. He is taking care of their two children. There are similar examples. The leadership of the Communist Party of China wants everyone in the leadership to live with the people and to act like them. I believe that they are going through this stage, at the inspiration of MAO Tse-tung, in order to maintain the idea that they are a part of the people and are not a bureaucracy. The Russians used to do this. They did manual labor on off-days. "Sabotniks" (ph) means that you give free labor. Everybody had to do it in Russia. I did it. After the revolution, LENIN went through this also. Now, they are doing it in China.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4/BJA-ALB
#906318

B. Visit to a Co-Operative Farm

I visited a co-operative farm, which was about a two-hour ride from Peking. This visit was made to allow me to talk with the Party Chairman, the Farm Committee, the village authorities, etc. Those who work on co-operative farms live in fenced-in villages. The farm we visited has 1,500 working members. They have opened fifty new wells and all these wells are equipped with electric motors to pump water for irrigation purposes. They have not done this before. They have made rice paddies and raised other grain. They have experimental rice and other grain in special plots. They were building a new pig sty. They want to buy machines and build more schools. They are opening a few schools in China, and there was a high school in this co-operative. So far, the standards of living have not increased. They are very low.

The Party leadership on the farm is very young. The Party sent these young leaders into the farm. The Chairman of the farm was raised in this particular area. The Chairman of the Party on the farm was sent into the farm. The Central Committee is sending people to the rural areas. They are also sending Rightists to the rural areas, with a proviso that they cannot have any leading position. They are bringing peasants in in order to teach them farming.

They are removing private burial grounds, particularly in the rural areas. They give notice to the relatives to remove the bodies. However, if the relatives do not do this, the Government does. Thus, they play up to the sentiments of the people and do it differently than the Russians, who would merely destroy the cemeteries without saying anything to anyone.

In the Peking area, we saw very few tractors on the farms. There is very little motorized transportation in the rural areas or in the city, for that matter. The bulk of the transportation is still with animal power -- a mule and a donkey hitched to the same cart. They carry everything in these carts. They carry what the Russians would put in a two-ton truck, and what Americans would put in a one-ton truck. They also transport articles in trailers and hitch these trailers to bicycles.

Practically everything is done with 99% human labor power. But they have the people organized. They are industrious. While the people are organized and are enthusiastic in Russia, they are not organized as the Chinese are. The Party leadership has the Chinese organized to the nth degree. No one is permitted to be idle in China. Unlike the Russians, the Chinese took us to the bad places, as well as the good places. They were not afraid.

to take us to places where people live in poverty.

C. Visits to the Industrial Center in East Peking

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China plans to turn Peking into an industrial city so that they can have a larger proletarian base than they have had up to now.

In East Peking, there are scores of new factories. Around these factories, they establish communities with new apartment buildings with central heating, schools, palaces of culture, etc. Not far from this area, they have laid out new roads, tree-lined streets, and a modern concrete highway leading from the center of the city to the Eastern section. The plan is to establish an industrial area and to have hundreds of thousands of new industrial workers who will make up the backbone of the Party.

We visited a huge factory in the Eastern part of Peking. Radio tubes and electric equipment are manufactured here. The technical expert had just returned from Moscow and thought that I was a Russian. This factory was completely equipped with Russian equipment.

The factory was divided into three gray brick buildings, each of which had a large smoke stack. There were three tanks in front of the factory. To work in the electronic factory, a high school education is required. The average age of people in the electronic factory is 24. There were no other factories immediately adjacent to this one, but there were other electronic factories in the area.

We also visited a textile factory. It is a reddish-brown brick building and equipped with Chinese machinery. Most of the machinery was made in Shanghai, although some of it was made in and around Peking. Most of the machinery was automatic or semi-automatic. The average age of the workers in this factory is 22, and they are chiefly women.

D. Observations on the City of Peking

They are building new Embassies in the diplomatic area, which is not too far from the industrial area of East Peking.

We travelled along the Street of Perpetual Peace, which has recently been widened. No building less than five or six stories can be built on this street. They are erecting a new building for the Trade Ministry. They are also building apartments

and offices. They have also built a new canal, which runs through a part of the city and is used partly for irrigation purposes. It is not too far from the International Liaison Department compound in the Western part of the city. They have also built new hospitals along the street of Perpetual Peace.

They have opened up some of the old palaces. They are not trying to restore these palaces as the Russians have done. However, they are saving some of them in order to tie up present history with the ancient history of China. Many Governmental agencies are housed in compounds or old palaces. The Government agencies build apartment buildings for their personnel, just as the industries do.

They have built gymnasiums and auditoriums in order to involve the youth in sports. Only in rare cases do they use machinery. While the Russians probably use more cranes than Americans, it is almost totally hand labor in China and they do a pretty efficient job. We have a tendency to under-estimate them because of the lack of machinery. While they have very little machinery, they are obtaining and building more. They boasted about building a 20,000-ton ship, and 90% of the labor is by hand. They organize and mobilize labor.

While Peking is still not the most productive area, they have increased electrical power and irrigation. While I saw great damage to building material in Russia, I saw none in China. They organized the people to kill flies, rats and sparrows because they were eating the grain. They use every foot of soil. They have really organized the people for production.

II. COMMENTS ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND CHINA

China is a very serious enemy. I would not have believed it if I had not seen it with my own eyes. They claim that they have twelve million Party members, and twice as many members in the Young Communist League.

The Chinese are receiving all the aid they request from Russia. All they have to do is ask. They said that not only do the Russians send them machinery for the factories, but they even put in lawns around the factories. One of the largest hospitals in Peking is a Soviet hospital. I was also told that the Russians are now building a new Embassy for the Chinese in Moscow. It is in the newer section of the city near the University of Moscow. It is said to cost over a million dollars, and is a gift from Russia to China.

The Russians have paid a big price to get the support of the Chinese and they are getting this support. The Chinese take the lead in all ideological battles. For example, MAO Tse-tung actually introduced the Twelve-Party Declaration at the Conference in Moscow. The Chinese have given leadership in the struggle against revisionism. This is connected with the internal situation in China as it existed about a year ago. While the Chinese have now consolidated their position, they had to use sharp methods and a lot of terror, both ideological and practical terror, in order to once again take hold of the leadership. I do not mean to minimize the hold the Chinese Communists have upon the Chinese people or to minimize the importance and strength of the Communist Party of China.

I got the impression, however, that the Chinese want to work things out on their own instead of always being dependent upon the Russians. I believe this to be true, even though the Chinese kept repeating that the Russians gave them everything. While they endorse the policy of co-ordinating or meshing the economies of the various Socialist countries, they put China in a category of being, by nature, an industrial power. They say that some day they will be as big an industrial power as the Soviet Union and the United States. As long as they can gain something from it, they will take it on the chin, even from the Russians, while they are building and learning. They are united and at the present consider the Soviet Union as the leader.

Whatever has been said by commentators in the past about the Chinese and their influence in Asia, or that the Chinese look upon certain areas as their preserve, is true. They can reach Asiatic people easier than Russia, and they do this. The Russians are white and are looked upon with suspicion in some Far East countries. The Chinese play their role in these countries.

The Chinese talked about Burma and said that an American expert went to Burma, and told them that the native cotton could not be used with American machinery. The Chinese were then asked to go into Burma. The Chinese sent experts to Burma and told them that China could supply the machinery and they could use their own cotton. The Chinese told the Burmese that they were satisfied just to sell the machinery and that they were interested in the independence of the Burmese. The Chinese told the Burmese that they are not like the Americans, who wanted to sell cotton as well as machinery. The Chinese use the argument that the United States wants other countries to become completely dependent on them. China exports some machinery. The automobiles and machinery which are produced and exported by China create a good impression on the backward Asiatic people.

The Chinese knew a lot about Indonesia. They must have

a lot of contacts in Indonesia. WANG Chia-hsiang, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and others told me that they were not surprised over developments in Indonesia. They said that when President SUKARNO was in China, he had talked with them. SUKARNO pointed to political differences and groupings, and stated why he can go so far and no further. The Chinese have promised a lot of aid to SUKARNO. Some of this aid will come from the Russians. The Chinese said that the Indonesian Communist Party is playing a most important role. The Indonesian Communist Party now has over two million members. In recent elections, they have captured some of the largest towns and cities in Indonesia. The Chinese are in contact with the Indonesian Communist Party. While the Communist Party of the Soviet Union probably has contact with the Indonesian Communist Party, I believe that the Chinese have closer contacts with the Communist Parties in the Far Eastern countries than the Russians do.

The Chinese are not worried about Formosa. They were boasting that the imperialists are crazy if they trust the Chinese in Formosa. They said that not only the son of CHIANG Kai-shek, but all the Chinese people on Formosa are antagonistic toward the Americans. They stated that people from Formosa have come to them and told them about incidents which took place on Formosa. They stated that American military personnel mistreat the people on Formosa. They said that the Americans go crazy in regard to security regulations.

The Chinese cited an example of the mistreatment of people on Formosa. They said there are separate swimming places for the Americans and for the Chinese. The Americans killed some Chinese for swimming in a restricted area. They stated that all of these things are creating a feeling in Formosa which, at an opportune moment, will rise like a storm. They also bragged that they generally know in advance when agents or spies are coming into the country. They said that they only publicize the capture of one of these agents or spies when it serves them politically.

In Peking, they showed us schools which have been set up for overseas Chinese. They allow children of overseas Chinese to come to Peking to study. Theyprovide scholarships for them. They are interested in the youth and know that ancestrial ties are strong. They try to urge the overseas Chinese to send their youth to China for education. They have special hotels for overseas Chinese who want to visit China. They are getting hundreds of thousands of youth from many parts of the world to come back to China. As an inducement for overseas Chinese Capitalists to make investments in China, they will pay them interest as high as 7%.

There is a special place in the International Liaison Department compound which, in my opinion, is made up of overseas Chinese who are Communist Party members and who may work in the underground or as espionage agents, etc., in places where many Chinese are living. They also had a few Latin Americans in another guest house in the International Liaison Department compound. They arranged things so that we did not meet with these people.

The Chinese are not as formal as the Russians in many respects. This may be due to the fact that they have not been in power long enough. It may also be that events in countries such as Hungary have scared them. The leaders want to act as if they are a part of the people. They send Party functionaries and the highest leadership to work on farms and in factories. The highest leadership participates in hard manual labor, even if only for a show, from time to time. The Chinese discourage high living, but do have shindigs on special occasions. Often, they come dressed for meetings in shorts and sport shirts. One just never does this in Russia. The Chinese dress formally only when there is a very important function or a meeting with a top leader.

The Chinese consider it their duty to aid the Communist Party - USA. They said, We are a Party in power, and a Party which is in power must help Parties which work under Capitalism and are surrounded by imperialism. While the Russians say the same thing and recognize the duty to give international support, the Chinese are more enthusiastic about this than are the Russians. To some extent, they almost seem to be competing with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to see which will receive allegiance. But for every practical reason, the Chinese will be loyal to the Russians and for every practical reason the Russians will not break with the Chinese.

The Chinese need everything they can get from the Russians. I think the Chinese could have broken from the Russians some years ago, but not now. China is obligated to Russia now. The Chinese have Russian planes and cars. Their buses are Russian-made. Their trucks are either Czech or Russian. Since Russia has supplied these things, the Chinese will stick with the Russians. The Russians are ready to supply them, since there are no ideological differences. There may be nationalistic differences and some antagonisms, but the Chinese have no other place to turn to.

There is a different interpretation now than there was in 1956, at the time MAO Tse-tung made his famous speech about contradictions and the famous statement "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend". The Russians were in

trouble at that time and the Chinese thought that they were a little bit too crude in dominating the satellite states. It is also true that at that time the Communist Party of China was shaky. The rectification campaign explained by KANG Sheng proves this.

The Socialist camp, particularly the Chinese and the Russians, is seemingly united. They are more united now than they were two years ago. There is no question but that the Communist Party is in complete control in China. We have to be on the alert. We have to study their differences. We must find opportunities to widen a chasm. A crack should be turned into a big break.

When Poland revolted and wanted to break away from Russia, the sympathies of the Poles were with TITO. The Poles sent a delegation to the United States to engage in negotiations for trade. The United States haggled. The Chinese say the United States missed the boat in regard to Poland.

Incidentally, the Russians do not trust GOMULKA, according to NICOLAI MATKOVSKY (ph) and ALEXAI GRENCHENCO (ph), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They were glad that I did not go to Poland. The Soviet Union still talks with contempt for the Poles. In the meeting I had with the leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, one could see that the Russians hold the Poles responsible for creating this international criticism of the treatment of Jews in Russia. They charged that the Poles were in touch with the revisionists in the Communist Party - USA at the time of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Now they are convinced that JOHN GATES is meeting with persons from the Yugoslav Embassy. They think that the Yugoslavs may give GATES money to start a newspaper.

The Chinese are still worried about Poland. They were glad when GOMULKA made the speech endorsing the action Hungary took against NAGY. Until the last moment, it was not known what Poland would do in regard to the execution of NAGY. I lived in the International Liaison Department compound and engaged in daily confidential discussions with people, so I know what their thinking is and how they think. They do not have too much faith in GOMULKA.

III. MANJA REISS

The only former member of the Communist Party - USA I saw in China, outside of TANG Ming-chao and LIN Tang, was MANJA

REISS. The Chinese brought her to me. She is now about sixty years of age. She is working in the Chinese News Agency. She said she was in a lot of trouble in Russia and she was very ill. She said people questioned how she survived the period of the purge, especially the period before STALIN died. She said that she had been ready to commit suicide.

MANJA REISS stated that she made the remark to IRVING POTASH about suggesting to the Chinese that they invite her to China. She said that she thought at the time that he had not paid any attention to this remark, but he arranged for the Chinese to request her. She said she was sick when she arrived in China. The Chinese placed her in a hospital and later gave her the use of a house. They order medicine from England for her and only allow her to work a half day. She knows English and Russian, and is studying Chinese. The Chinese value her work and think highly of her. She said that she is comparatively happy in China, since she was unhappy in Russia. She stated, however, that she would do anything to return to the United States. I do not know what caused her to flee from the United States.

She gave me the following name and address for mailing purposes: [redacted] Peking, China.

IV. OTHER FORMER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA IN CHINA

MANJA REISS talked to me about ABE CHAPMAN. He is working on the "Peking Review", a weekly which has replaced "People's China". Arrangements were made for this publication to be sent to me c/o [redacted] at the Modern Book Store in Chicago.

ABE CHAPMAN has taken out Czechoslovakian citizenship and has changed his name to CHAPAK (ph). He used to write a column for the "Daily Worker" and the "Morning Freiheit" under the name of ARNOLD. He has his family with him in China. I do not know what caused him to leave the United States. The Communist Party - USA got him out of the United States during the underground period. He was originally from New York. He lived in Czechoslovakia for several years and did a lot of writing and studying there. They made him a member of the Academy of Science in Czechoslovakia. He took a two-year leave of absence from Czechoslovakia so that he could work in China.

There is a couple in China who were former members of the Communist Party - USA and are supposed to have lived in Chicago and in Czechoslovakia at one time. He was a physiologist

and she was supposed to be a very wealthy woman. She is related to the owners of some wealthy Wall Street banking house. Their last name is [redacted]. The Chinese were having trouble with them. According to MANJA REISS and TANG Ming-chao, these people came to China full of enthusiasm, but have lost it. They became confused ideologically, but the Chinese have been very patient with them. The Chinese sent them to peace congresses and conferences of various societies dealing with problems regarding his profession, but they are very confused. The Chinese are not holding them. The wife still has money and a sister of the wife, who lives in New York, also is supposed to have made donations to the Communist Party - USA from money left to the wife out of an estate or something similar to an estate. The last word was that the sister is not giving the money to the Communist Party - USA because of the confusion in the Party.

A person by the name of ISRAEL EPSTEIN is also in Peking. He is either a former resident of Great Britain or of the United States. He is an expert in English-Chinese translations. There are a number of Englishmen in Peking. They are used as translation specialists. The Chinese do a far better job of translating Party material from other countries than do the Russians. They have a number of Englishmen and Australians working for them.

V. MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA IN CHINA AND FUNDS FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

[redacted] wife of [redacted] and [redacted] supporters of the ultra-Left viewpoint in the Communist Party - USA, went to the Conference of the Women for Peace in Vienna, Austria, and obtained permission to go to China via Russia. They were in China during the latter part of June or the first part of July, 1958. The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China would not meet with them.

As a result of statements made by [redacted] in regard to the financial situation of the Communist Party - USA, a collection was taken up among the former members of the Communist Party - USA who are now in China. A total of $120 was collected as a donation for "The Worker" or for the Communist Party - USA. These former members of the Communist Party - USA still consider themselves to be members of the Communist Party - USA and this money would be similar to membership dues. However, when I explained to the Chinese that [redacted] were supporters of an ultra-Left faction, the Chinese gave the former members of the Communist Party - USA a hint not to collect any

more money. They were told that it was difficult to exchange the Chinese money into American dollars. They were also told that TANG Ming-chao would take the money with him to Stockholm, Sweden, and would send it to the Communist Party - USA from there. During the week of July 20, 1958, both EUGENE DENNIS and JAMES JACKSON told me that they did not know that [redacted] had left the United States until after they had departed.

b6
b7C

Actually, TANG Ming-chao gave the $120 to me for either the Communist Party - USA or "The Worker". He also gave me $300 for the purpose of mailing back issues of "Political Affairs" and other publications of the Communist Party - USA to China. He also requested that from time to time I send books published in the United States which deal with China or Russia, such as JOHN GUNTHER's "Inside Russia". He also requested that I send from time to time important resolutions adopted by the Communist Party - USA. This material is to be sent to TANG Ming-chao, 9 Tai Chi Chang, Peking, China.

The denominations and serial numbers on this money given to me by TANG Ming-chao are as follows:

DENOMINATION	YEAR	BANK	SERIAL NUMBER
$100	1934C	Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis	H 03737581 A
$100	1934C	Federal Reserve Bank of California	L 07716594 A
$50	1950B	Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago	G 06608147 A
$10	1950A	Federal Reserve Bank of New York	B 70498162 C B 21846125 E B 06464293 E B 04248101 E B 15261672 B 43812307 E B 83004858 C B 28900214 E B 64806385 D B 96060509 C B 98625562 D B 21665313 E B 91589358 E
		Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond	E 99515925 A

DENOMINATION	YEAR	BANK	SERIAL NUMBER
$10	1950A	Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond	E 89984539 A E 12244227 B
		Federal Reserve Bank of Boston	A 28682044 B

The International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China offered aid in any amount of money to the Communist Party- USA. I was told to name the amount and it would be received. I replied that I had no instructions from the Communist Party - USA in this regard. I was told that any time the Communist Party - USA needs financial help, it should let the Communist Party of China know and this help would be given.

VI. CONCLUSION OF THE TRIP TO CHINA

I had no time to arrange for a tour of China. A trip from Peking to Shanghai would have taken approximately seven to eight hours. Shanghai is supposed to be a city which was occupied by imperialists. The Chinese rebuilt Shanghai after the "liberation". They carried on a campaign to get the people to move out of Shanghai and the population was reduced by one-third. In the last few years, they have turned Shanghai into an industrial city, with the most modern plants. The population has been increased. They claim they have built a new shipyard there. The Chinese also wanted me to go to Manchuria and to Northwest China, but I could not do it.

The day before I left China, I wrote another letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. I thanked them for their great comradely welcome and for the discussions they had with me. I named each leader with whom I talked. I said that our thinking has been confirmed by what we saw and I cited some so-called examples. As a sort of postscript to the letter, I thanked the comrades who are not on the Central Committee but who worked with me, including TANG Ming-chao, LIN Tang, and YU Chi-ying. I thanked them for making us feel comfortable and stated that I hoped that this would only be a beginning of our contacts.

MEMBER OF C.C. CHINA

Incidentally, YU Chi-ying was once a devout Christian. She learned the English language in a YWCA. She is one of the most active members of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

I was due back in Moscow on July 5, 1958, but the Chinese insisted that I stay for a few more days. The Chinese

Ambassador to Russia was in Peking, so they could not work through him. They finally sent a message to Moscow that unless it was absolutely imperative, I would stay in China until July 7 or 8, 1958. When a reply was not received for a day or two, the Chinese went ahead and prepared transportation for us so that we would be back in Moscow on July 5, 1958. A few days later, the Chinese contacted Moscow again and it was learned that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said that there were no objections to my staying in China a little longer. I was then supposed to leave China on July 8, 1958, but weather conditions delayed the jet flight until July 9, 1958.

Upon my return to Moscow from China, both ALEXAI GRENCHENCO and NICOLAI MATKOVSKY were anxious to learn the details of my meeting with MAO Tse-tung. They also said that whenever MAO is in Russia, he brings his own translator with him. They said that this translator is very poor and that he does not always give MAO the full significance and meaning of a conversation he is translating from Russian into Chinese.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: September 2, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Bulet dated June 6, 1958, enclosing a copy of the "Handbook on People's China". This item is enclosed herewith to the Bureau in compliance with the request set forth in referenced Bulet.

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BJA MLB
#906314

EXP. PROC.

REC-21 100-428091-58

EX-138 5 SEP 4 1958

ENCLOSURE

77 SEP 10 1958

FBI
SEP 4 10 30 AM

INTERNAL-HOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/81
DELETE

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 9/4/58

RDG/Cy

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

JIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/19/87
DELETE

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on August 25, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several Dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [redacted] This transcription is located in Chicago file A/134-46-4589. The information on the following page is contained in this transcription. It pertains to a meeting with MARTIN YOUNG in New York City on Tuesday, August 19, 1958.

b6
b7C

See Security Index - 100-34616 Ag

CG 5824-S* orally advised SA KEATING on August 28, 1958, that he does not know the name of MARTIN YOUNG's [redacted] who is in Russia. CG 5824-S* also advised that NICOLAI MATKOVSKY (ph) and ALEXAI GRENCHENCO (ph), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had asked about the political thinking of MARTIN YOUNG. CG 5824-S* commented that the fact that MARTIN YOUNG's [redacted] was having difficulty in obtaining a pension probably means that she is not a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union would utilize the fact that she has a relative who is a current member of a Communist Party in another country to establish her reliability.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJB-MLB

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED) #906318
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

REC-93 100-428091-59
16 SEP 6 1958

59

in the national leadership, there will be sufficient votes to guarantee election. He said that he is sure that it can be done and that he does intend to take this up with other comrades in order to guarantee my election to the National Committee.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C.Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 9/5/58

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S*, on August 25, 1958, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING several Dictaphone memo belts, which were transcribed by Stenographer [redacted]. This transcription is located in Chicago file 134-46-4589. The information appearing on the following page is contained in this transcription. It pertains to a meeting with JAMES JACKSON in New York City on Wednesday, August 20, 1958.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906318

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

REC-85 100-428091-60
13 SEP 5 1958

59
60 SEP 19 1958

August 25, 1958

JAMES JACKSON was on his vacation during the week of August 17, 1958. He came into New York City on August 20, 1958 in order to return the car which he had borrowed from my brothe We went into Madison Park and sat around for more than an hour. We talked about various things. I asked him if EUGENE DENNIS h talked to him about my trip. He replied that GENE DENNIS had n talked to him as yet. I answered, I thought he did. JACKSON said, Oh, he may have mentioned something about your travels, but he did not talk to me in any detail. So we talked a little about the world situation, the attitudes of certain Parties to the Communist Party - USA, etc. I could not at this moment wit draw from the discussion, since I had assumed that EUGENE DENNI had talked with JACKSON, because DENNIS told me that he had.

Then JIM JACKSON said that he believes that I ought t be a part of the National Committee of the Communist Party - US He said that he had made this suggestion before the last mee of the National Committee, but that the comrades told him t he wait until the October meeting of the National Committee. my said he is prepared to go in with this suggestion without d the urging. I did not urge it, since he is the one who rais me a me question and he is the one who has suggested that I bec ight ber of the National Committee. He said that since the of the wingers have left the National Committee, and since so committ ultra-Leftists will also undoubtedly leave the National bers. there is room on the National Committee for additional men t tha He said even with only the Right wing dropping away, he fe hat there is room for additions to the National Committee and tee, would be a stabilizing force not only on the National Comm but in Chicago, where there is a mixed up leadership.

JACKSON told me that he had fought against [redacted] as a member of the National Executive Committee.

b6
b7C

Previously, JACKSON had told my brother that he fe t h that I was one of the few comrades who was well acquainted wi the international situation and he felt that I could make a c tribution to the national leadership. I told JACKSON that I m sometimes in an embarrassing position because while I do repr ser the Communist Party - USA in its relations with other Parties I have no real base. Therefore, I am not sure that we want to into a battle right now for a position on the National Committ That it might be necessary to wait until such time as the Part breaks up the war lord conception of each one controlling a province. I said that perhaps it might be better to mobilize first in order to guarantee that if I am suggested as a replac e

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Thornton
1 - Administrative Division

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B) September 25, 1958

Director, FBI (100-428091) PERSONAL ATTENTION

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BJA-MLB
#906318

In connection with the captioned operation the Bureau feels that the outstanding contributions afforded to the success of this matter by CG 5824-S* and NY 694-S* are deserving of special recognition.

In this regard there is attached for the Chicago Office an appropriate letter addressed to CG 5824-S* and his wife under their true identities. You are to personally deliver this letter to the informant and afford him the opportunity to read it. This letter should then be brought back by you to the Chicago Office where it is to be retained in the safe.

Under no circumstances are you to relinquish control of this letter at any time.

A similar letter directed to NY 694-S* under his true identity is attached for the New York Office. This letter is to be handled personally by the SAC in accordance with the above instructions. After perusal by NY 694-S* the letter should be brought back by you to your office and retained in the New York Office safe.

In addition to the above the Bureau feels that the manner in which both of the above informants discharged their duties in connection with the Solo operation is deserving of recognition in the form of a cash award over and above their authorized reimbursement. At the time the above letters are delivered to these informants authority is granted herewith to furnish cash awards to these two informants in the amount of $1,000 each.

Any pertinent observations which you may have relative to the reaction of our informants to these letters and cash awards should be made available to the Bureau.

Enclosure
2 - New York (Enclosure) (100-134637)

REC-96 100-428091-61
11 SEP 11 1958

Personal Attention

YELLOW: See memo Belmont from Baumgardner, 8/28/58, same caption.
WCT:med.
WCT:dlh (9)

EX-135

MAIL ROOM

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Nease
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Clayton
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy
W. C. Sullivan

MAILED 11
SEP 8 - 1958
COMM-FBI

FBI/DOJ
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE
DELETE
3/19/87

August 5, 1958

I. SEVEN QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE CCCPSU IN AN OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE CPUSA

On or about May 7, 1958, I presented a letter to the CCCPSU in behalf of the CPUSA. It consisted of about 3½ single spaced, typed pages. The letter contained flowery greetings to the CCCPSU. It stated that this is the first time in a long time that the American Communist Party, through a representative, has made contact and is present in the Soviet Union. I said that this visit had aroused deep emotions and I was sure that if Comrade DENNIS and Comrade FOSTER and other comrades of the Secretariat of the CPUSA were present, they would extend their heartfelt greetings and would probably feel similar emotions as they watched the enthusiasm of the Soviet people following the leadership of the glorious Soviet Party and marching on the road of Communism, etc.

I repeated that I was bringing the greetings of FOSTER and DENNIS, the members of the Secretariat and also the comrades in prrson who "extend the hand of proletarian internationalism through the bars and send you greetings." I also said that I was bringing special greetings from Comrade PAUL ROBESON. U.S

The letter explained that the lack of contact was not due to a lack of desire on the part of the leadership of the CPUSA. I stated in the letter that the American bourgeois has been doing everything possible to frustrate the establishment of our relationship and that the revisionists were their helpers. Under the false slogan of independence, the revisionists try to prevent the CPUSA from working with the CPSU.

The letter went on to state that the CPUSA had delivered some blows to the revisionists so that the political atmosphere has been cleared up. This made possible the contact with the CPSU. The letter also stated that the CPUSA would have liked very much to have greeted NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on his elevation to the post of premier but in view of the various reactionary laws in the United States, the CPUSA cannot always express its feelings. Therefore, I am taking this occasion to congratulate NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV on becoming premier of the U.S.S.R. It should be noted that I added this last statement because one of the questions presented in the letter dealt with the cult of the individual.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLD
#906318

100-428091-62

ENCLOSURE

In the letter I emphasized the meaning of proletarian internationalism, stated that Marxism-Leninism is a universal thing and that the most experienced party, CPSU, is a symbol of Marxism-Leninism and can be of great help to the American Communist Party. I said that proletarian internationalism is anathema to the bourgeois and their agents, the revisionists such as GATES and others. I told them that the CPUSA was ready to discuss a number of problems and to exchange information.

A. Questions Presented to the CCCPSU on Behalf of the CPUSA

In the letter I stated that the following questions are not in final form but will serve to indicate what the CPUSA would like to discuss with the CCCPSU. (These questions may not be in the order in which they were originally presented to the CCCPSU.)

1.) What is the relationship between the parties?

2.) In regard to the Declaration of the 12 Communist Parties and the Manifesto signed by the 64 Communist Parties, why were there two separate manifestos?

3.) The question of a Party program and roads to Socialism.

4.) An explanation of the present economic and agricultural policies of the Soviet Union. For example, are the programs to decentralize industry and to abolish the machine tractor stations in agriculture being carried through successfully.

5.) An explanation of the expulsion of MOLOTOV, MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH and others. Since the revisionists questioned the correctness of the expulsion, what were some of their policies? What was their platform? The bourgeois as well as the revisionists say that whenever the CPSU fights an opposition or expels someone it never prints any documents or refers to any speeches of the opposition. Could you please explain what this group stood for.

The revisionists also charged that the cult of the individual is coming back. While I, of course, stated that I had observed the very opposite of this, I said that the revisionists use the demagogic argument that the elevation of Comrade NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the premiership, combined with the position of First Secretary of the CPSU, is a return of

the cult of the individual.

6.) With regard to the current recession in the United States and the world economic situation, how will this effect the drive for peace and peaceful co-existence? What is the possibility of an agreement with the United States? What is the possibility of the spread of this economic crisis from the United States throughout the Capitalist world and what would be the subsequent influence, either peaceful or aggressive, upon American imperialism.

7.) In regard to the Jewish question, there is a charge that the Soviet Union is violating the Marxist-Leninist concept of the national question, particularly in its relationship to the Jews. While the leadership of the CPUSA does not believe this, nevertheless this is a very pertinent tactical question for us and we would like to discuss this question with you.

B. Conclusions of the Letter to the CCCPSU

In the closing part of the letter, I again repeated the greetings. I told them how nice it was to be in Moscow. I said that I had seen with my own eyes the fact that the cult of the individual is no more, that the people are following the Party, etc.

I told them that the CPUSA is having difficulties. I said that we are facing suppression and oppression and that we would like to get some material aid from the CPSU. I said that the CPUSA is in a dire financial condition. I did not raise any amounts with them. I knew that this had to be discussed in general terms. I said that the Party is once again beginning to become a factor in the class struggle in the United States, particularly in regard to the fight for peace, in the fight to shift the burden of the economic recession upon the shoulders of the bourgeois, rather than upon the workers, farmers, etc. However, we are limited in our activity, in agitational work, because we do not have the financial means. I said the revisionists have sabotaged our income. This is why we have had to cut down on our activity although the possibilities are greater than ever before.

This was the essence of the letter. Each phrase and each word was weighed. It took several days to compose it. I waved the flag of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It was necessary to use slogans in referring to Russia. One must not think, one must only repeat what has been said before, then you are safe.

II. PREPARATION FOR THE FORMAL MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU

While I was waiting for the meetings with the leadership of the CPSU, I was asked by NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, to give them a picture of the current situation both in the CPUSA and in the United States. With regard to the Party, I started with the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA and prepared about 80 pages of material. I had to explain why there was a delay in kicking the revisionists out of the CPUSA.

NICOLAI or ALEXAI GRENCHENCO (phonetic) stated that the entire CPSU, beginning with the leadership, was hungry for information from the United States but chiefly about the CPUSA and its activities. They stated that they are always in demand for lectures about the inner situation in the CPUSA as well as the general situation in the United States in regard to economics, politics, etc. They said that they are constantly being asked to lecture in various schools, academies and at Party meetings. They said that they are hard put to lecture because of a lack of complete knowledge of the activities in the CPUSA and in the United States. NICOLAI stated that he had lectured at Gorki on the situation in the CPUSA. They admitted ignorance and a lack of knowledge of the details of the activities in the CPUSA. They said that TIM BUCK was in big demand as a lecturer while he was in Russia because he was somewhat acquainted with the activities in the CPUSA.

I was told that before I met with the Party leadership I had to prepare them--acquaint them with facts. Even those who would participate in the discussions should be given some documents and the rest of the Central Committee of the CPSU should be acquainted with the situation in the United States.

In this document of some 80 pages, I said, in a formal style, that I was bringing greetings from the CPUSA and pointed out why the CPUSA had not been in personal contact with the CPSU. I said that the CPUSA had delivered the first blows against revisionism and explained why certain things happened as they did and why the leadership of the CPUSA could not get rid of revisionism before. I pointed out the effect of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union and the effect of the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU on the CPUSA. I told them

that it was not enough for the CPUSA to merely pass resolutions since the Party could have been split and 90% of the membership lost. I pointed out that the revisionists presented a danger in that they almost took over the CPUSA and the "Daily Worker" and explained how the "Daily Worker" became defunct.

I had saved a few notes from my last conversation with EUGENE DENNIS and used them in the preparation of this report to the CCCPSU. I told them what had happened at the February meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA and what has happened since. I gave them a description of the so-called peace movement of the CPUSA. They had received a letter on the peace movement in the CPUSA, which had been sent to all districts of the CPUSA and had been signed by ARNOLD JOHNSON. I referred to this document. I had to borrow from them the proceedings of the 16th National Convention and the resolutions of this convention of the CPUSA since most of the material I had mailed in advance did not arrive. Just before I left Russia to return to the United States two copies of PAUL ROBESON's book, "Here I Stand," which he had autographed for me, arrived in Russia and I was told that one copy would be given to NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.

They wanted me to give them the identities, insofar as I could, of all the members of the National Committee of the CPUSA and the attitude of these people in regard to the struggle in the Party. They wanted to know who are pro-Party people, who are the revisionists, who are the so-called ultra-leftists and how these people vote at meetings. They asked me to explain the Constitution of the CPUSA. They asked what is meant by the right of dissent. They asked if this is a violation of democratic centralism and said that we are the only Communist Party in the world with this modified concept of democratic centralism. I said that future conventions would change this.

They asked me other organizational questions and questions about the Negro and labor movement, for example the merger of the AFL-CIO, etc. They have a pretty good idea of the labor movement in the USA. They asked about the relationship of the CPUSA to the Latin American Communist Parties. I told them that I had gone to Mexico to meet with the leadership of the CP of Mexico and they thought that this was a very good idea. I gave them a report on Latin America. I told them about ABE MAGIL's trip to Mexico. I told them about the meeting I had attended in New York City in which we dealt with the Cuban situation. I told them that the CPUSA wanted to raise some funds for the CP of Guatemala. They knew very little about the CP of Puerto Rico since they are out of touch with it.

They asked me about the economic situation in the United States. I prepared a 14 page typewritten document describing the economic situation in the United States on the basis of information from American magazines and AFL-CIO employment statistics which I had brought with me. They asked me for more information. They wanted to know about the role of the CPUSA in the economic situation in the United States and sent me an outline which NICOLAI and B. N. PONOMAREV, head of the International Department of the CCCPSU, had prepared. YURI IVANOV translated the outline for me. Later I prepared still another document about the struggles of the CPUSA in regard to the American working class during the current recession.

This is why they were interested in the economic situation. They told me that they are having a very big debate in their own leading circles, including their scientific institution, as to the depth and the character of the economic recession in the United States. Some were of the opinion that this current recession is only a repetition of the 1953-54 recession in the United States. But most of the outstanding economists in Russia, including VARGA, were of the opinion that this is a real cyclical crisis in the United States. They said that they were not yet ready to measure the depth of this recession or its possible effects or its influences upon the rest of the world, but they felt that it is quite different from the recessions of 1948-49 and 1953-54 and that it is a vital question.

Incidentally, a meeting with the economists in the Academy of Economy and Political Science was arranged for me so that we could engage in a debate and an exchange of opinions. However, this meeting never took place because I was rushed out of Russia upon my return from China probably because the Russians were aware of the pending developments in the Middle East.

They were very impressed with the information I furnished them. While ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG gives the Russians information in regard to meetings of the National Committee, CPUSA, he does not know all the details concerning the meetings of the National Executive Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the CPUSA. While TRACHTENBERG gives them limited information, they are interested in details. I must have given them over 100 pages of such details. All of it was in conformity with known facts in the event that they check or double-check. Some of the ideas were those of DENNIS. I was glad to learn later that all of these ideas were confirmed, for example, the latest Party information on the electoral situation in California, etc.

They told me that they had translated everything I gave to them, not only in the written reports but also in the oral discussions which we had daily in my apartment. They said this material was put in the hands of the members of the CCCPSU. They said that this was invaluable information for the leadership and the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU and that they are now better acquainted with the American situation than they had been up to now.

III. FIRST MEETING WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CCCPSU

My first meeting with leading members of the CCCPSU took place on either May 21 or 23, 1958, and present were OTTO KUUSINEN, B. N. PONOMAREV, P. N. POSPELOV, M. B. MITIN, along with TERESHKIN, NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH and YURI SERGEOVITCH IVANOV.

On the day previous to the meeting, NICOLAI told me when the meeting would be held and what the comrades would be interested in. When he told me who was to be present, I asked, is that all? He replied you have two secretaries of the Party, KUUSINEN and POSPELOV.

NICOLAI also stated that they had received all the information I prepared and had read and studied it, therefore, I might save some energy by not repeating a lot of these things unless I felt that something needed explanation. Then NICOLAI stated that there was one problem that I might put stress on because he was sure that the discussion would center around that problem. The Russians talked to me with deference, as an example, NICOLAI said, what do you think about going into detail concerning the preparation of the program of the CPUSA? I replied that I might deal with it in my introductory remarks. His question meant that I should prepare a document on the program of the CPUSA.

I worked most of the night of the day before the meeting and prepared an 8½ page document dealing with the program of the CPUSA. I then planned to limit my introductory remarks to this document. In this document I mentioned the fight with the revisionists in regard to the program and polemized against the revisionist concept of a peaceful revolution and against the theory of the welfare state as propounded by ALEXANDER BITTELMAN. I added some detailed information concerning the possible date when this program of the CP, USA would be completed.

A. Location of the Meeting

YURI and NICOLAI came by the apartment and we had lunch about 12:30 p.m. instead of the usual time of 2:00 p.m. Everyone was dressed formally. We drank a toast to the success of the meeting. NICOLAI said to my wife, we will see you later. We left early so as not to be late for the appointment at 2:00 p.m. The meeting was to be held in the headquarters of the CCCPSU on Staraya Plostshad. We traveled in a closed sedan with the curtains drawn.

The headquarters of the CCCPSU consists of three large buildings, numbered 1, 2 and 3. Building number 3 houses various departments and hundreds of people worked there. Our meeting was to be held in Building #2. It is a very fancy building with heavy carpeting on the floor. There were two armed security guards at each side of the door. They were in soldier's uniform with a royal blue band on the cap. They were carrying revolvers. No one can enter this building without a pass or without the credentials of the Central Committee. I was saluted as a dignitary. There were also two security men stationed at the automatic elevator. We went to the 4th floor and there was a security man at the door of the elevator on that floor. We proceeded down a large corridor, made two left turns and went into the outer office of OTTO KUUSINEN. There were two plainclothesmen in the outer office. My real name was used at this time. A door opened and we were called into a spacious office probably about 50 feet long and 30 feet wide. The room was furnished with a large table and soft chairs.

B. Introductory Remarks

When I entered the office KUUSINEN stepped out and formally greeted me and told me in the name of the CCCPSU that he is glad, glad that I had come over to meet with them, to talk with them and thanked me for the greetings of the American CP. I was introduced to POSPELOV. I told him that I had last seen him in 1947. KUUSINEN asked me how I kept so young. 26 years had passed since I had last seen him. I doubt that KUUSINEN really remembered me.

I was introduced to all present by name and titles. First they asked me about WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. They wanted to know about his health. They wanted a detailed description of his physical condition. I replied that FOSTER is in poor physical condition but that mentally he is as sharp as ever.

Then they asked me about DENNIS. I said that he had been ill but that he has gotten over this illness. I said that the revisionists were really responsible for his illness because he had to be rushed to the hospital the day following the February, 1958 meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA. I said that he is all right now and is participating in daily Party work. They asked other questions about the health of individuals and made a few remarks about the old Comintern, etc.

Next, KUUSINEN said that they had read the material I had prepared and again said that they wanted to thank me. He asked me how I would propose that we go about this discussion. How can we fix an agenda? I replied that I thought that I had raised some of the problems of the CPUSA in the letter I sent to them. He replied that he had read it and had the Russian translation in front of him. He reminded me that all members of the Central Committee had this material.

C. Remarks of the Representative of the CPUSA

I proposed that instead of deciding on the agenda that we should follow the letter I prepared unless they had some problems to raise. When I told KUUSINEN that I would start the discussion if he wanted me to, he indicated that I should proceed.

I started with formal greetings. I had to tell them that the CPUSA is not dead. I said that while the bourgeois and the revisionists have reported the death of our Party, and while it is being harrassed from within and without, it is very much alive despite all the pressures against us on the part of the bourgeois in the United States. I was asked if the CPUSA is a legal party. I said that defacto we are supposed to be legal--from the point of view of the law--but there are many laws which compel us to operate in a semi-legal and illegal fashion.

Then I went to the question of the Party program and said that despite all these harrassments, we are functioning. While we have not yet eradicated all the remnants of revisionism and while we also have some ultra-Left groups which are playing the game of the enemy by using the method of factionalism and are making it more difficult to struggle against revisionism, nevertheless we are finding our bearings under the present leadership, which is united against revisionism.

At this point it might be well to point out that while in Moscow I had restudied the resolutions of the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA. It is noted that from the point of view of international Communism and from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, the practice of the Soviet Party, the Chinese Party and all of the Communist Parties for that matter, the last convention of the CPUSA was not a real Marxist-Leninist convention. I could not use most of the material from the 16th National Convention, including the resolutions, except for an occasional quotation separated from its context. In short, I would say that from the Marxist-Leninist point of view the resolutions of the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA were in a sense revisionist documents. This applied to the analysis of the economic situation, the world situation and, of course, to the aims of the Party.

I was familiar with the Declaration of the 12 Communist Parties and had read a confidential document containing the report of MIKHAIL SUSLOV to the meeting of the 12 Communist Parties. They had given this confidential document to me to read. Having read these documents, having participated in discussions in my apartment in Moscow and having read the Russian press for three weeks, and having had numerous discussions on Titoism and revisionism, I could not base my remarks on the old program and documents of the CPUSA. An outline of the discussion which took place at the December, 1957 meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA was of no value to me. Therefore, I used an outline of the remarks of EUGENE DENNIS made at the February, 1958 meeting of the National Committee of the CPUSA as a basis. I quoted DENNIS most of the time. Occasionally I quoted FOSTER but always accompanied this with remarks by DENNIS. In other words, I would say that my introductory remarks dealing with the program of the CPUSA were based chiefly on the remarks of DENNIS with additions since it was almost six months since DENNIS had made these remarks.

In my remarks I emphasized American tradition and at the same time castigated EARL BROWDER and JOHN GATES who had said that American imperialism is exceptional. In this context I also mentioned JAY LOVESTONE who they have not forgotten. KUUSINEN directly participated in the ousting of LOVESTONE.

So I introduced the general problems. There was a running translation by YURI who sat at my side. As I talked he translated after every few sentences.

D. Remarks of OTTO KUUSINEN

Since the Russians participate according to rank, KUUSINEN spoke first. He is about 71 years of age. He is a Finn and speaks Russian with a terrible accent.

KUUSINEN said that he wanted me to deliver a message to Comrades DENNIS and FOSTER and to the Secretariat of the CPUSA and to tell them first of all, that the leadership of the CPSU is happy, very happy and glad that the CPUSA defeated the revisionists. This is the most important thing for them.

Then KUUSINEN said, let us discuss this problem of program and then we will answer the questions which you placed before us. Then we will work out an agenda as we go along. He stated that he hoped that this would not be the last meeting, only the first meeting with me.

Next KUUSINEN went into the program. He talked about LENIN's "State and Revolution" and about the necessity to smash the state machine of the bourgeois. He said that since the Russian revolution we have had other roads to Socialism. The Russian revolution established Soviets. Some of the other countries have found new forms of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Theoretically speaking, it may be possible to achieve a peaceful transition to Socialism. It will depend upon history and the relation of classes in your country. Whether it is peaceful or not, one thing is clear, you will have to have the dictatorship of the proletariat, no matter what you call it. He said, we know that tactically it is not good for you and might not be advisable for you to say the dictatorship of the proletariat.

KUUSINEN pointed out that some form of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. He again quoted from LENIN. He also asked me if I had studied other Party programs, especially the Italian party program. He also asked me if I had studied the British party program. I said that I had not but I had seen the Canadian Party program. He said, we are glad that the CPUSA is formulating a program because we were always under the impression that the document issued in 1954 had inadequacies although in the main it is not too bad. He was glad to hear me explain that there is a difference between that program and the basic program the CPUSA is now formulating.

KUUSINEN stated that it is necessary to combine Marxism-Leninism principleness with tactical flexibility.

KUUSINEN also stated that it could be that there is a parliamentary way to Socialism and that the dictatorship of the proletariat might even express itself through some parliamentary method. However, you can decide such things only on the basis of concrete conditions. For example, the Italian Communist Party, which is a powerful party, has over one million members. It has control of the trade union movement. It has a wide influence. One could say that it is the party of the proletariat in Italy. It has a large representation in parliament. There are some other parties in Italy that believe in, at least they say they believe in Socialism. It is quite possible that under their circumstances and if there was no foreign intervention, that this party might transform the parliamentary agencies into the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. No matter what the form is, parliamentary or otherwise, they would have to defend the interests of the working class and the majority of the toiling masses first of all. But the Communist Party of Italy is further along than the CPUSA. The CP of Italy has wide influence.

We went into a long theoretical discussion about the people who argue against the dictatorship of the proletariat and who say that it does not represent the majority. KUUSINEN said that this is incorrect. He said that no Marxist-Leninist party can hope to overthrow the bourgeois and take the road to Socialism without having first of all won to its sidethe majority of the working class, and together with the working class, allies such as the poor farmer, some dignitaries, professionals, middle class elements, etc. So who would the working class speak for? It would speak for the majority of the people. Communists are not Putschists, that is they do not favor the Latin American type of revolution. The Communists have to base themselves on the people. So whatever they would do they would do it in the interests of the majority. The Communists would have already won a majority of the population either through popular struggle or elections, etc.

Again referring to Italy where a parliamentary road to Socialism may be possible, KUUSINEN said, I cannot tell you how the CPUSA should formulate the dictatorship of

the proletariat for your country. He said, perhaps if you will come back to us when your program is formulated, we might be able to say more. However, we have to see how concretely you have placed the problem. We do not care what you call it. We have to take into consideration your problems and traditions. All we are saying is that there would have to be the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We cannot say at this time what road you should follow or what the form should be.

B, APPROX. 1893

E. REMARKS OF PETER POSPELOV

P.N. POSPELOV

PETER POSPELOV, who is about 65 years of age, is one of the secretaries and a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CCCPSU. He is now playing the role that MIKHAIL SUSLOV played. I asked for a meeting with MIKHAIL SUSLOV and was told by NICOLAI that SUSLOV was "very sick". It should be noted that right after May Day 1958 SUSLOV's name completely disappeared in the Russian press.

POSPELOV spoke longer than KUUSINEN. He is the one who made the following remarks concerning the report of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He said that when KHRUSHCHEV made his speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and talked about paths to Socialism and different roads to Socialism, including the peaceful path to Socialism, he had in mind various Communist Parties in capitalist countries. The CPSU felt that a number of Communist Parties were on the griddle because of the issue of force and violence. KHRUSHCHEV was trying to ease the situation for these Parties in capitalist countries from a tactical point of view; however, when KHRUSHCHEV, in the same speech, said that in some capitalist countries where there is a strong regime with military and police power at its disposal, the working class may have to fight and respond to force and violence, this applied specifically and concretely to the United States. The Communist Party can talk about different roads, but programatically there can be no illusion that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will not require force and violence to suppress the bourgeoisie who will resist.

No Communist Party in any capitalist country, particularly the United States, can hope to go through a transition to Socialism without a dictatorship of the proletariat or, in essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be contained in the program of the CPUSA. The dictatorship of the proletariat will be required in every country. The form it will take will depend on the relationship of the classes. The amount of force and violence required will depend upon the resistance of the bourgeoisie or ruling class. POSPELOV stated that he understands the difficulties the CPUSA faces in formulating such a program.

POSPELOV went into the question of force and violence and gave a considerable amount of historical details concerning the Russian Revolution. He reminded me that there were only

nine casualties when they captured the Winter Palace. He also reminded me that before the Bolsheviks raised the slogan "All Power to Soviets" the Bolsheviks had already won the majority of the working class and they had formed the alliance, at least with the poor and middle peasantry, which made up the majority of the population. He said that all through the first stages of the Revolution, this alliance was guarded. What he brought out was that the Communists were not a minority. He said that they did have the backing of the majority of the population. What the bourgeoisie tried to do was to overthrow the regime of the majority with foreign help. Naturally, the regime of the majority is entitled to defend itself. Therefore, when the ruling class resists and refuses to accept the will of the majority, the dictatorship of the proletariat has to suppress them.

POSPELOV went on to deal with the liberalism of the Communist regime, even in regard to certain Generals, during the first months of the Soviet Revolution. He cited as an example that General KRASHNOV (phonetic) led a revolution against the Soviet regime. They captured him twice and then released him. He also mentioned how KERENSKI sneaked out of the Winter Palace in women's clothing. They did not care, they let him go. Since the Winter Palace was defended by the sons of the rich and the land owners, they had to bombard the Winter Palace. The increased resistance of the bourgeoisie and foreign intervention compelled the use of force and violence in the first stages of the Revolution.

POSPELOV said that he does not know whether or not the CPUSA needs force and violence. He said that he does not suggest that the CPUSA use the phraseology "force and violence". All that he is saying is that in formulating a program, in thinking of the future, the CPUSA has to be theoretically clear that the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary. The CPUSA may capture a majority of the support on the part of the workers and farmers. He does not know. But the Revolution will have to defend itself. The bourgeoisie will resist and this is very likely. Then, of course, the CPUSA may have to use force and violence. This does not mean the CPUSA has to preach it. For tactical reasons this is inadvisable. Then he quoted LENIN in regard to peaceful revolution. He also quoted from "State and Revolution" by LENIN, in regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of force and violence. He, too, said that the program for the CPUSA should contain Marxism-Leninism principleness with tactical flexibility.

One thing these leaders of the CPSU demanded and one thing that they all stuck by was not the question of force and violence, but that some form of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary. Therefore, we cannot create any illusions in the CPUSA by departing from this very cardinal Marxist-Leninist principle. What tactical forms we use, what language we use to describe this thing in order to keep us within the law, is up to the American Communist Party. When the CPUSA has its Party program written and prepared, they will be able to talk more concretely about our situation. Now they are just talking general theory.

When I talked to EUGENE DENNIS about this in New York City on July 23, 1958, I asked him how the Party program is getting along. He told me not to worry about the CPUSA using the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Party program.

F. REMARKS OF B. N. PONOMAREV

PONOMAREV, who is about 50 to 52 years of age, was the next speaker and repeated many things stated by the two previous speakers. He attacked revisionism, TITO, BITTELMAN and the theory of the welfare state. He stated that you cannot transform capitalism into Socialism without resistance of the bourgeoisie. He again launched into an attack against BITTELMAN's theory of the welfare state. It should be noted, however, that the Russians do not take BITTELMAN's remarks seriously.

G. SUMMARY OF THIS FIRST MEETING OF LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CPSU AND ADJOURNMENT

All the leaders of the CPSU present at this meeting quoted from the 12 Party Declaration, from the 20th Congress of the CPSU and from current documents against TITO circulating in the CPSU in order to prove that you have to accept in their entirety what they called the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism. You have to say that you believe in the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and that includes the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, regardless of the form.

They said that the CPUSA is a revolutionary Party. It has to get rid of anybody who believes anything else. The CPUSA has to be a Party of Marxism-Leninism. It must win a majority of the working class to its side and must form alliances.

It must have as its final aim the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essence has to be there, no matter what form it takes. No other party can do this except the Communist Party, which raises the banner of Marxism-Leninism. No other party can be a vanguard party. You have to change property relations. By winning influence over the working class and by forming alliances with others, you establish the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which defends the Revolution and the gains of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat defends the new social system. If anyone resists, you hit them back and do it in the name of the majority.

All of the above can be found in LENIN's "State and Revolution". The theory given to me in regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat is the same theory that was in existence 50 years ago.

We went on with this particular subject until about 7:30 PM. This is unusual because the leading people in the Russian Party have regular hours. After everyone had their say and some questions went back and forth, I told them that this is the way we understand this problem in the CPUSA. I stated, however, that it is necessary for them to keep in mind that we still have the Smith Act, the Internal Security ACT and various state laws. They said, "You will find a way of formulating it that will suit the situation in your country. The important thing is the acceptance of principle."

KUUSINEN asked me very politely, "What would you say if we would adjourn and resume in the future?" Would I object? I said that I was here to discuss problems at their convenience.

When we adjourned we all engaged in some personal, sort of off-the-cuff discussions. KUUSINEN asked me, "How come BITTELMAN became a Right-Winger? He said, As I recall he was always one of the biggest sectarians." Isaid, I do not know." I stated that the revisionists use him as a theoretical shield. KUUSINEN then asked, "Who is WILLIAM WEINSTONE, is he the guy who paraded around like a peacock and was with LOVESTONE when we kicked LOVESTONE out? I replied in the affirmative.

It should be noted that WEINSTONE expected to be one of the biggest leaders in the Communist Party in the late

1930's. Keep in mind that if a person was with LOVESTONE, even for a short period of time, it was held against him. It should also be noted that WEINSTONE was a Comintern representative for a short period of time.

KUUSINEN was surprised to learn that ~~BITTELMAN~~ ALEXANDER went from Left to Right and WEINSTONE from Right to the ultra-Left.

IV. SECOND MEETING WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CPSU

The second meeting took place the next day starting at about 3:00 PM.

A. RELATIONSHIP OF THE PARTIES

KUUSINEN, who was in charge of these meetings, asked me what should be discussed on this day. I suggested that we take up the questions as they were phrased in my letter to the Central Committee. So I read the various questions from the letter. I said that I would qualify these questions by stating that they do not reflect the thinking of the CPUSA, but are questions which are being raised by a certain body of public opinion in the United States.

It should be noted that since policy is always the basic problem, the matter of program was the first thing discussed at the first meeting.

The first question which came up for discussion was the relationship of parties. Again, they said that they had read the material I had prepared. They asked what I had to say about the relationship of parties. I said that it was necessary, first of all, to establish regular contact. Secondly, it was necessary that each Party be informed on the activities of the other Party. Citing an example, I stated that we very often get the news of your problems and debates etc., out of the capitalist press, particularly "The New York Times".

I stated that we think that a good number of Party leaders and members of the CPUSA believe that if you have some problems that are going to be aired publicly or problems which may not be aired publicly at the moment but will be aired publicly later, then you should give us some indication

of this. We should get it before the bourgeoisie press because very often the bourgeoisie press distorts the facts. As a result, we cannot have the right perspective.

I also stated that we in the CPUSA feel that during the 20th Congress of the CPSU we might have gotten the information about this Congress earlier. Another thing is that if we are going to have a Party relationship, the Soviet Party should not create the impression that it is backing this or that individual in the CPUSA. I said that they must take into consideration the collective opinion of the Party.

In regard to the latter, they asked for concrete examples. I said, You printed some articles by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. You did not ask if this was the opinion of the majority of the leadership, particularly that section which is pro-Party. I said I was not talking about the revisionists. I said that the CPSU should ask if this is a collective opinion or if it is an article of an individual. I said the printing of FOSTER's articles indicates that you are supporting FOSTER. This does not improve the authority of DENNIS or the rest of the leadership.

I raised the problem of the article by PONOMAREV in which he attacked JOHN GATES. I said that the CPUSA got this article from a reading of the "New York Times". Further, the "New York Times" gave this information to GATES immediately. However, you did not send us an immediate translation of this article.

I also told them that they created problems for the CPUSA when D. SHEVLIAGIN wrote the article regarding WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN and ABE MAGIL. I said that this was not right. I told them about the arguments of MAGIL and said that as a result of this type of situation we had to pass a motion in the NEC that only the National Committee speaks for the Party, not each individual.

PONOMAREV admitted that SHEVLIAGIN made a mistake. He said that SHEVLIAGIN had no business in writing the article in the manner in which he did. He said that in the future such things will be rushed to the American Communist Party, and if such articles are written names will not be mentioned.

Then they asked me for more specific cases. I told them that DENNIS complained that when they reprinted articles

sent in by FOSTER and other individuals it just gets us in dutch with the law because some phraseology in these articles is dangerous. They said that they would look into this, that perhaps this is not the way to do it.

They reminded me that when FOSTER sent in his latest article, he had some criticism of DENNIS. They stated that they had censored the article by cutting out personal attacks and other parts of the article. They stated that they will see to it that things similar to those I mentioned will not happen in the future now that we have established a relationship.

I. ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOSTER AND DENNIS

KUUSINEN asked me to speak frankly and objectively concerning the fight between DENNIS and FOSTER. He asked if they have serious differences. He said, "We won't hold it against you, tell us frankly." I did what DENNIS asked me to do. I said that I have the greatest regard and respect for FOSTER, as does the majority of the Party. I said that I was practically raised in FOSTER's house in Chicago so I have no personal reason to be subjective. I said that comrades are of the opinion that since FOSTER is divorced from daily activity he does not always know what is happening in the ranks. While he sometimes does raise general problems correctly, he has no solutions to problems because he is out of touch.

Continuing, I said that even prior to his heart attack, FOSTER attended meetings of the National Committee only occasionally and would leave early. I said that there is an opinion among the majority of the group which is pursuing the present line against revisionists that FOSTER should not have separated himself from the 16th National Convention of the CPUSA. I said that the majority of the CPUSA repudiated the political action association prior to the 16th National Convention. The body of opinion in the Secretariat and in the National Committee of the CPUSA is that FOSTER should have backed DENNIS. They complain that FOSTER is too rigid and too doctrinaire.

I also stated that there is a body of opinion that FOSTER, considering his age and illness, does not bring younger

persons into the leadership. Further, it is felt that sometimes he could compromise on a tactical problem as long as there are not differences of principle. I said that this is the opinion of many. I reminded them that even BEN DAVIS and WILLIAM WEINSTONE, who are followers of FOSTER, criticized FOSTER, even though mildly, for his lack of tact at two meetings of the National Committee.

I stated further that even though FOSTER is now under attack by the ultra-Left, there is a body of opinion that FOSTER gave encouragement to the ultra-Left and, thus, encouraged factionalism. I said that in the main this was the opinion of the people who make up the core of the leadership.

In conclusion I said that at the present moment I can say that there are no principle differences between FOSTER and DENNIS and that the FOSTER followers joined with DENNIS at the February plenum and voted for the DENNIS resolution at that National Committee meeting. I stated that there may be some differences on tactics or emphasis on interpretation, but these cannot be considered differences in principle.

In the discussion, the Russians talked of the need for unity between the DENNIS and FOSTER forces. They said that they thought that FOSTER conducted a heroic struggle against revisionism. They take into consideration that FOSTER is incapacitated. They think highly of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, who is the best known CPUSA leader in Russia. They realize, however, that for all intents and purposes DENNIS is the practical, day-to-day leader of the CPUSA.

The leaders of the CPSU listened respectfully to my remarks in this regard. They asked me whether FOSTER is still the Chairman Emeritus of the CPUSA. While I really did not know, I took a chance and said that he was.

It should be noted that on July 23, 1958, I asked DENNIS if FOSTER is still the Chairman Emeritus of the CPUSA. DENNIS replied that FOSTER is. I asked him if FOSTER knew this and he said no. DENNIS stated that the motion which was passed at the February meeting of the National Committee only changed the secretaries. No other titles were involved. I told DENNIS that if this were made known it might satisfy some people who still believe in FOSTER, might satisfy FOSTER and might satisfy the Russians. DENNIS said he would remind

FOSTER the next time he sees him that he still has the title of Chairman Emeritus.

I told the Russians that DENNIS' title is just plain secretary. I then named the various secretaries again and said that DENNIS is accepted as the first secretary but does not have the title. I said that it would be very bad to announce titles at the moment since the revisionists might utilize this to start another fight.

KUUSINEN and POSPELOV did most of the talking on this subject. I got the idea that they are backing DENNIS. They asked me if FOSTER could come to Russia. They said that they want to take care of him medically and otherwise. I said that such a trip would be very difficult for FOSTER. I said that he is too sick to move around unless he has improved considerably. Secondly, that there is another test case in regard to a passport for ROCKWELL KENT and DENNIS told me they would wait for this decision. Thirdly, there is the legal problem in regard to the Smith Act. I said that if all of the above obstacles could be taken care of FOSTER would undoubtedly come to Russia.

It is noted that this meeting took place before the United States Supreme Court decision in regard to passports.

2. EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION BY THE CPUSA AND THE CPSU

It was agreed that later we would work out details whereby certain news from some of their inner documents and journals which do not circulate in the United States, such as "Party Organizer" and "Party Life", would be sent to the CPUSA. They were going to introduce me to the head of the Information Bureau and he in turn was going to appoint someone to pay attention to all news which would interest the CPUSA. He was going to be on call for "The Worker". He would be the correspondent of the CPUSA in Moscow. However, the head of the Information Bureau was removed so arrangements could not be made. If I had stayed in Russia longer a meeting probably would have been arranged with the new head of the Information Bureau. They may still go ahead with this arrangement without a meeting in regard to it. In other words, they were going to improve the news relationship, the exchange of information, etc. I think that such an improvement will be made.

In regard to the complaint that the CPUSA receives news of the CPSU too late, they asked me why the CPUSA does not have correspondents in Moscow. I told them legal difficulties prevent this. We agreed that special items would be sent to me for the CPUSA through Canada.

B. THE QUESTION OF DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE ABOLISHING OF THE MACHINE TRACTOR STATIONS

I had asked whether there is an improvement in agriculture as a result of the change in regard to the machine tractor stations. They all spoke on this problem and indicated that they are making tremendous progress in agriculture. They said they are developing agriculture rapidly. They cited facts, statistics and so forth to show how this change has developed the initiative of the mass of technicians, as well as the farm workers. They suggested that in order to get more facts I should go into the collective farms, talk to anybody I wanted to and let them tell me what is going on. I did this on my tour of Russia.

They cited some agricultural areas where there has been an increase in income and well-being of the farm population. They stated that some farmers have even given up their private plots of land since it doesn't pay them to spend time on them anymore. Then they mentioned a very important fact. This is that until recently--a year or a year and a half ago, no earlier--there was a trend away from the farm. Young people would graduate from high school and then would go to the larger cities. They claimed that they have reversed this trend in a lot of regions. They cited one area where the majority of the graduates from high school remained on the farm and many chose professions which could be utilized in the area.

Until recently, graduates would go out and obtain jobs in the cities where they studied, such as Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad. Now, they are trying to get commitments before students graduate and encourage high school graduates to go into factories for a couple of years. They make it easier for people who have had industrial training to obtain higher educations by granting them scholarships, privileges and so forth. This is how they have managed to keep some youngsters in local industry and on the farms. Then they give them opportunities and promotions later. They believe that this experience does the youngsters some good. KHRUSHCHEV referred

to this at the last convention of the Young Communist League. In
He reminded those present at this convention that things
Russia were not always so nice. He reminded them that their
fathers had to work and to fight for a living and that they
have a revolutionary heritage. He also stated that not all
graduates of schools and not all people can be white collar
workers or professionals. Workers are necessary too. They
they are putting pressure on young people to go into industry
and to conbine their education with practical training. In
this regard they were not talking of night schools or trade
schools, but were talking of higher educational institutions.

I asked a similar question in regard to the de-
centralization of industry. They used to have a very complicated
apparatus. The ministries of various industries were all
stationed in Moscow. If a machine shop in the Urals needed
a certain part, a certain die or a certain tool, the director
would have to get in touch with the ministry in Moscow, which
would locate the item in some factory through another ministry.
They cited examples of this and said that they have cut out
nine tenths of the red tape. They stated that at the present
time, in many cities where a machine shop needs something,
the director of the shop may know that a factory in the same
city is producing this item. So he goes directly to that
factory, puts in the order and obtains the item. The other
factory does not have to take this up with the ministry.
Thus, they have given more responsibility to the republics,
both locally and regionally. All of this is based on a master
plan.

They stated that the basic plan of industry which
is worked out by the central government in advance has not
changed. They went to great lengths to explain new achieve-
ments in industry, the elimination of bureaucracy and red
tape, etc.

They also went into the question of reducing t
work week and hours of employment, and the development o
automation. They said that they operate differently tha
the capitalist countries in regard to the introduction o
automation since they do not do it at the expense of the
workers. They try to introduce new machinery and techni
instead of a speed-up. The cutting of the work week is b
upon such new methods of production so that the workers
have more leisure time. They told me to study this when
visited the factories. Then they cited some examples of
creases in the standard of living.

Also with regard to the farm question they cited examples of the cutting down of red tape. One example was the elimination of the tax-in-kind on the small garden plots allowed members of the collective farm.

They stated that since they have abolished the machine tractor stations, the farms buy their own machinery. The tractor stations merely service them. They explained that in the old days when the time came to plow all the collective farms put in requests for tractors at the same time and dates had to be set by the machine tractor stations. But now that the collective farms are buying their own machinery they can set their own time, not only for plowing and sowing, but also for harvesting, so that efficiency increased many folds as a result of the new policies.

When I took the trip through Russia and went to the farms and factories I had to ask these questions again and the answers I received at this meeting were verified. I did this to show that I was really interested in these matters.

C. THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE OUSTING OF MOLOTOV, MALENKOV, ZHUKOV, ETC.

The question of the cult of the individual came up in the discussions. They did not say anything new. They repeated what was said at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In discussing NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, they said that it is just a slander to say that the cult of the individual is returning. They pointed out that they work collectively. They said that never in the history of the CPSU from the days of LENIN have they had so many meetings of the Central Committee where the members of the Central Committee participated in making decisions and discussions are held. Matters are discussed and debated. There is never a one man decision.

They asked, Who led the fight on the cult of the individual? Who started the expose? NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV did and the CPSU knows it. They further explained how decisions are made collectively. They said that they do not play up an individual. They stated that if you will study the history of STALIN's role, you will find that he had just as much power before the war but by that time he had built up the cult of the personality. There is no such thing at the present time. They told me that when I went into the districts I should ask

the district leadership if they participated in making decisions. They again said that decisions are collective decisions. I told them that I knew this but I was just raising this and wanted their viewpoint.

This led to a discussion of the opposition. They charge that MOLOTOV was a cantankerous doctrinaire. They said that from the day STALIN died MOLOTOV refused to budge. They said that MOLOTOV had given encouragement to BERIA, who had ambitions of recreating a cult of the personality. They blamed everything on BERIA, including the trumped up charges, the trials, etc. U.S.S.R.

They stated that the opposition had a faction going all the time and this faction had no program. It was just an organized factional opposition. Every time the collective leadership, led by KHRUSHCHEV, would introduce a new proposal, such as the decentralization of industry and collective farming, the opposition would just argue in a negative way without a program. The opposition said that we should merely increase the area under cultivation when we first suggested reforms in the collective farms.

They said when KHRUSHCHEV introduced the question of raising the standards of living so that it would be as high as that of the United States in giving the people meat, butter, milk, eggs, etc., MOLOTOV charged, as did his helpers, KAGANOVICH and SHEPILOV, that we were pursuing a partisan policy. The opposition said that we were scuttling our heavy industry and were putting emphasis on light industry and consumer goods. This was a falsehood and a lie.

They said that they had solved their bread, grain and corn problems. The United States can sneer at us and say that we cannot grow corn in certain areas, but we have certain strains of corn and grain which can be grown in the coldest areas. Where we want to grow corn for silage we grow one type of corn. Where we want tall stalks we raise one type of corn. We have developed seed just as good as that in the United States for our different purposes. But there is another problem. We had to guarantee once and for all that our agricultural products could not be affected by some kind of a drought taking place in this or that area. Last year we had a severe drought affecting the entire Volga area. However, the new, virgin soil area was not affected and production from it made up for the loss of production

in the drought area. The opposition did not want to understand this.

Then these Russian leaders stated that the opposition was offered opportunities to bring a written program of their own to the Party and to the people. I asked them about the debate in the Central Committee. I said that there is a charge that you have not printed any document showing the stand of the opposition or anything saying that they had a chance to present their views. They replied that MOLOTOV took the floor six times during the debate. The same applied to others. Furthermore, meetings of factory workers were organized and the opposition was told to go to those meetings with their program. Figures were given of how many workers were organized in such meetings in Moscow. They said the opposition used to urge Party people to cast negative votes. They asked, what could we do? The workers just rejected the carping, negative criticism of MOLOTOV, MALENKOV and KAGANOVICH and charged them with factionalism. We had no course but to demote them, to oust them, so that we could go ahead with our work. Further, to say that they had no possibilities of talking to the Party is wrong. We gave them possibilities. They were rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Party. There are fewer negative votes now than at the time of the cult of the individual. Then they told me to ask the people in the outlying districts what their reaction was to MOLOTOV, MALENKOV and KAGANOVICH.

They said, why shouldn't the people support us? Then they reviewed their policies again. They asked, have we increased the standard of living in Russia in the last number of years? Have we increased productivity? Have we made it easier for the farmer? Of course we have.

They asked, haven't we carried through a foreign policy that the people accept? They charge MOLOTOV for increasing tensions at the time of his expulsion. They blame MOLOTOV for preventing a better relationship between Yugoslavia and Russia. They said MOLOTOV carried things too far. He said you cannot deal with their hirelings of fascism in Yugoslavia. Later on when proposals were made for discussions with TITO they asked MOLOTOV and his group, what do we have to lose? Let's test them. Let's start negotiations. If he is a real fascist, he will prove it. Why are you afraid of discussions? They said that we felt that discussions were worth a try in order to bring about some understanding with

TITO. If this had not been done the friction would have continued and the people would have blamed the leadership. These discussions were held with TITO only as an attempt to reach an agreement with TITO.

In regard to the policy of peaceful co-existence, they said that if they would have followed MOLOTOV they would have had no elbow room. MOLOTOV did not understand the role of these semi-colonial and colonial countries and the role they can play in the present struggle against imperialism. They charged MOLOTOV with all of these crimes.

In regard to ZHUKOV, they said that he did not understand the role of the Party. He was purely a military man. More than that, he would place obstacles in the way of the Party in regard to the carrying on of political leadership so that the army would know who the real enemy is and would understand the value and worth of Party leadership. Now, however, the armed services are once again under the complete leadership of the Party, are ideologically sound and are participating in the political life of the country and are understanding the policies of the Party and the government.

V. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES

On the question of the economic crisis in the United States, they said that some of them are of the opinion that there is a cyclical crisis in the United States and that the economic situation in the United States is worse now than it was in 1953-54. They suggested that I talk to economists and go into detail. They are convinced that this recession in the United States will spread. They cited various theories of economists by name. They said that they have had debates among Russian economists in regard to the present economy in the United States.

In regard to the question of what the United States is going to do, they said that they had decided to take me into their confidence. They said that they wished they knew. They are going to try to do everything possible to try to keep the United States moving in a peaceful direction so that it will not solve the economic problems it faces by engaging in military adventures. They said, however, that they cannot control this. Therefore, this is why they fight for peace or peaceful co-existence and at the same time are prepared for any eventualities. They said that they are going to make

propositions that the people of the world will understand and the people of the United States will understand. Thus, they will place the onus of war on the heads of the American bourgeoisie.

They said, we are now discussing in our leadership the sending of a letter to the United States proposing trade. We are going to outline what we could use and what we could buy. Of course, we are going to show that we are not just going to buy. That is, we will raise the question of credit--not that we need it but we will raise it. We will put over the idea to the American people that we want to trade and want to live in peace. Also, that the people of the United States could solve their unemployment problems by dealing with Russia. Further, that the people in the United States have an interest in peace. They asked me to keep in mind that this is just a decision that they are discussing in the leading Party committees in the government and that I should not mention this to anyone. They said that this is the way they are going to carry on their struggle to win the minds of the people for peace.

They issued orders to make arrangements for me to meet with various professors, economists and academicians to raise economic questions with them. However, we never got to this meeting.

I thought that they would ask me more questions about the economic situation in the United States. They asked questions about unemployment and whether the workers can make ends meet on unemployment insurance. POSPELOV and PONOMAREV were interested in some of the details. They did not know how the unemployment compensation acts work. They did not know how many weeks it lasted and that it was also connected with state laws and that it varied according to states, etc.

They did not go into any deep discussions concerning the economic situation except to emphasize that the American economy is shaky and that the rate of their growth is phenomenal and that the rate of growth in the United States has slowed down. They are convinced that they have beaten the United States in some fields and that their rate of growth and the inevitable capitalist crisis guarantee the economic victory of Socialism.

The second meeting adjourned at this point.

VI. THE THIRD MEETING WITH THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CCCPSU

The third meeting with the leading members of the CCCPSU was held on May 27, 1958. We met until about 6:00 PM. All of the previous participants were present except TERESHKIN.

A. THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

The third meeting began with the Jewish question. KUUSINEN introduced MITIN and gave his titles, his capabilities, his responsibilities, etc. MITIN is Jewish.

MITIN went all the way back and blamed BERIA for the plots against the Jews and other nationalities. In regard to the "doctors plot" he said that the majority of the doctors were not Jewish. He mentioned by name current poets, playwrights and actors who are Jewish and said that he was friendly with them. He said that MICHOELS (phonetic) had confessed to him that he was wasting his time appearing before Jewish audiences in Jewish plays since he was getting no response. He said that MICHOELS told him that when he performs Shakespeare he gets a response even if he performs it in Jewish.

MITIN wanted to prove that there is no need for a separate Jewish culture in Russia. He went into the question of Jewish authors and writers. He stated, however, that even now they have Jewish theatrical groups which tour the country and perform before all audiences in Jewish only. He mentioned Jewish authors and said that they have translated their books into the Russian language and that they are read by millions of people. He said that some Jewish language Russian dramas get large audiences. He stated, however, that if they were to propose the establishment of a Jewish newspaper most of the Jews would object. They would not read it. He said the new generation has no conception of the language. He said that the Jews would be the first ones to protest a Jewish language newspaper. He stated that Russian has become the language of the Jews in Russia. While the Jews are not compelled to accept the Russian language, the newer generation does accept it. He said, we do not ask the nationality of people. Then he listed the Jews who are in leadership and asked me if I wanted to meet these Jewish leaders. He said that he could give me a list of hundreds of Generals, Party leaders, leaders of industry, etc., who are Jewish. POSPELOV also said that MITIN could give me these names. I said I believed them.

I told the Russians that the CPUSA has a sub-committee consisting of J. J. JEROME, JIM JACKSON, JACK STACHEL, HY LUMER and CARL WINTER which is trying to find answers to the Jewish question in Russia. I said I thought that I could get some tactical help from the CPSU. For example, the CPUSA asked me to stop in France and ask about the Jewish committee which met with KHRUSHCHEV. They replied that I could go to France. Nothing new took place. I said I was told to ask about the statement in regard to the Jewish question in the Soviet Union which was attributed to KHRUSHCHEV and which appeared in "Figaro". They said that the statement attributed to KHRUSHCHEV was a fake and that it was just an imaginary story concocted by some French journalist.

With regard to the pro-Arab policy of the Soviet Union, I said that there are stories circulating in New York City, where we have a large Jewish population, to the effect that the Soviet Union is pursuing an oil policy in the mid-East. POSPELOV said, we don't need the oil. He asked, who needs oil? He said we have discovered oil fields. Why should we pursue an oil policy? He said, all we are doing is supporting people in their fight against imperialism. We can drown them in oil. He said that these letters are concocted by Zionists to put us in a bad light. He said, you know Baku means nothing. We have thousands of such oil fields in the Soviet Union. Everyone present participated in this discussion.

Then they discussed Birobidjan. They said that there are possibilities there. They asked if I wanted to go there. I did not want to since it is on the Manchurian border and is a wild country. One of the remotest parts of Siberia. They said that the "Star", a paper which is published twice a week in Birobidjan, will be made available in the United States.

They said that the Jews are absorbed in the population and live as Soviet citizens. They said, we have offered them opportunities and it was the Jewish population that rejected them. They said that the Jewish people in Russia would not want to return to a modified ghetto.

I said that they should raise the problem differently so that we could understand it. I told them that the revisionists are responsible for some of the letters in regard to the Jewish question and that they stir up the Jewish question in the CPUSA. I said, of course it would be the revisionists who would give assistance to the imperialists.

I raised the Jewish question for a propaganda point of view. It is a very sensitive spot with the Russians. It has caused them grave concern and problems. Inspite of all the discussions I received no satisfactory answer on this. Upon my return to the United States I mentioned to DENNIS that the Russians answered the questions in regard to the Jews in part but that they did not give us the tactical answers we were looking for.

I also told the Russians that "Jewish Life" is no longer the voice of the CPUSA and that it is controlled by revisionist forces. DENNIS told me that the CPUSA has no control over "Jewish Life". I said that the editors of "Jewish Life" are raising their own money and that the CPUSA expects these editors to announce that they will have nothing to do with the CPUSA.

The Russians should have admitted persecution of the Jews but they would not. In my opinion we found no Jewish life in Russia. Kiev is the city where you would expect to find most of the Jewish life but we did not find a trace of it.

There is a charged atmosphere concerning the Jewish question in the provincial areas. While it is true that I ran into some Jewish Party leaders in some of the districts, they are very few in number. I could tell that in some of the places where there were some Jewish people that they wanted very much to talk to us but they avoided it. I could tell by looking at these people that they wanted to talk with us.

We visited a place on the Volga. This is a new socialist city called Volsk. It is named after the Volga River. The city is only about six or seven years old. It was built from the ground up. We visited institutions there. The Jews would ask us, where are you from? When I said we were from Canada they felt let down. They wanted to talk about the Jewish question in the United States.

The point is that in regard to the Jewish question the Russians would not even satisfy the most ardent leftist in the CPUSA. I will tell the leadership of the CPUSA what the Russians told me. I am convinced that this is a point of pressure with the Russians and that they almost get mad in discussing it. They are very sensitive about this issue.

B. GENERAL DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING FUNDS FOR THE CPUSA

I gave the Russians a description of the financial difficulties in the CPUSA. I told them that the day I left New York "The Worker" almost failed to make the press and that I had loaned them some of the money I had been provided for my fare. They told me that the Central Committee would be acquainted with this situation. They instructed me to meet with PONOMAREV and NICOLAI to work out the financial details.

At this time it was stated that any money provided would not be from the government of the U.S.S.R. but would be taken from an international fund which is supplied by Party members in the CPSU and other Communist Parties. They emphasized that this money would not be from government funds. They told me that I should devise ways and means of distributing this money so that the source would not be disclosed.

It is noted that for the record the Russians stated that this money does not come out of the treasury of the U.S.S.R. but that it comes from certain funds to which Party members contribute. This was re-emphasized in meetings with PONOMAREV where the details were worked out in regard to the sum that would be sent to the CPUSA.

During the discussion at this meeting I told them that the decision to liquidate the "Daily Worker" was unanimous but that it was not a question of wanting the paper to fold. I said that the CPUSA could not keep it going with the deficits.

We did not go into any specific amounts at this meeting. They said that they were favorably disposed to give financial help but that they would have to present the proposition to the Central Committee. I thanked them for the help they had given in the past and said that we in the CPUSA are certain that once again they will help our Party. I cited some examples of programs which require funds, such as the struggle for peace.

C. GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

During a general discussion they asked what could have happened to a guy like [redacted] This brought on a discussion on the world situation. I told them that [redacted]'s opinion was that American imperialism is not aggressive. I

b6
b7C

said that [redacted] agrees with JOE STAROBIN. They knew that STAROBIN is supposed to be the ideological mentor of [redacted]

They asked about HOWARD FAST. They said that these revisionists are dirty skunks, the chief enemies. They said there is only one aggressive power and that is United States imperialism. They said that American imperialism wants to conquer the world, therefore, the CPUSA was correct in the rejection of the point of view of [redacted] They called FAST a Zionist agent. They said that he sent a lawyer to Russia for an accounting of his royalties. They said that they had given FAST thousands of dollars but FAST thought that it was not enough. They asked if FAST has ever contributed to the CPUSA. I said that I was sure that he did not contribute to the Party in recent years and that he claimed that the CPSU owes him thousands of dollars.

I noticed that premiere performances of a ballet called "Spartacus" were given in the Bolshoi Theater and in the Leningrad Opera. I am convinced that this ballet is based on the book with the same title by FAST, but they denied it. The music was written by AARON KATCHATURION (phonetic).

The meeting ended in small talk about various people and personalities and some questions. One of the questions was as follows: Some of your Generals make insane statements. Do you believe that they would be mad enough to start a war with us? Don't they understand that we would crush them? That this would be their last fight? Dont they know what we will do with them? We think we can lick them peacefully but if they start a fight we have the most destructive weapons. They did not go into what they would do or what weapons they have, but they tried to get me to feel that they have the most destructive weapons and that there is no question but that they would win and destroy Europe and hurt the United States. I said that the American people do not believe in war. I also said that I did not know whether the government of the United States knows the military capabilities of the Soviet Union.

Nothing very startling was said in regard to foreign policy. They talked with a passion about the question of their destructive power and just could not understand why the people in the United States or why the leading circles in the United States do not understand that they would get hurt if they started a war.

They also emphasized that there are many contradictions in the bourgeoisie world. They said that the British are reluctant partners of the United States. They said that American imperialism united with the French and British and the American imperialists have become the inheritors of the colonial loot of the French and British. It is, therefore, their conclusion that this coalition will break up.

They also said that the political life in the United States is not without contradictions. They said that there are even contradictions among the ruling classes. I said that the Republicans and Democrats have differences on domestic programs but there are large degrees of agreement on foreign policies, the cold war, etc. They said that they would not put all the people in the same camp. They cited CYRUS EATON, ADLAI STEVENSON, WAYNE MORSE, MIKE MANSFIELD and others. They said that maybe the opposition is small but it exists. Since it exists it was felt that their opinions may be shared with others. Therefore, the CPUSA should learn how to take advantage of these contradictions and to utilize them. This was sort of tactical advice. They said that some sections of the bourgeoisie are more intelligent than others and see how destructive war would be and that the United States would also be hurt. Thus, capitalism might last longer in peacetime.

I conveyed to DENNIS this idea of tactically utilizing the contradictions in the ruling class without relying upon the ruling class. It should be noted that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER does not believe in this theory.

They repeated that as long as you have principleness you can afford to be tactically flexible. As long as you understand the full meaning of the ruling classes then you can take advantage of their contradictions without submitting to any illusions that this or that section of the ruling class will save you or will peacefully or voluntarily accept and consent to Socialism. They were advancing this idea of taking advantage of contradictions in the ruling classes only in regard to the cold war, peaceful co-existence and the easing of world tensions.

They consider the fight for peace as they call it one of the most important tasks of the American Communist Party. The most important task for the CPUSA is the fight for economic demands of the workers. The next most important

task is the fight for peace. I noticed that when you talk to people in the factories the first thing that they mention to you is the question of peace.

By way of comment, it can be stated that despite the size of the CPUSA the Russians are counting heavily on it and they would like to build it up if they could. No matter what happens to the CPUSA the Russians are not going to worry about this or that personality, but they are going to worry about how close the CPUSA policies are to those of the Soviet Union. They do not care if there is only a handful of people in the CPUSA. If this handful of people has a policy which is akin to theirs this is the group which will win their support. At this stage the Russians are not too concerned about the size of the CPUSA. The Chinese are completely unworried about the size of the CPUSA. While the Chinese belittle size, the Russians do not. However, the Russians mainly want a Party in the United States which accepts the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and is 100% loyal to the CPSU. This is what they want and they will do everything possible to give support to such a Party.

The people in Russia are very interested in the United States and are studying English. Both NICOLAI and PONOMAREV stated that "The Worker" is superior to the "London Daily Worker" in approach. They have ordered 3,000 copies of each edition of "The Worker" and will utilize "The Worker" in the teaching and understanding of English.

August 25, 1958

On Tuesday evening, August 19, 1958, MARTIN YOUNG and I went to the dairy where he works in Queens, New York. We occupied one of the offices there and talked way into the night

During this discussion, I intimated to him that I had taken a trip and that somebody had asked me questions about his [redacted] I told him that I had given a recommendation that she is deserving of attention and that MARTIN YOUNG is a good Communist, a fighter against revisionism and against all deviation from the Party line.

MARTIN YOUNG thanked me profusely. He said that the inquiry was about his only [redacted] He stated that she has children and that she lost her husband in the last world war. She was tubercular and had a hard time getting a pension. YOUNG stated that about one year ago, or even prior to that, he had talked to ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG and to JIM ALLEN and offered to send his own money to his sister. YOUNG said that he knows that ALLEN had contact with the Russians. YOUNG said that he offered $500, if they would transmit it to his [redacted] He said that he got no answer or encouragement from JIM ALLEN. ALLEN did not so much as acknowledge that he had heard the request.

b6
b7C

So, YOUNG said that he has been worried all this time about his [redacted] He stated that he was glad that I was able to be of some help, and also to relieve him of this worry. He said that he will never be able to thank me enough, that he will never forget it, etc.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLD
#906318

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 11, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/81
DELETE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB #906318

b6
b7C

Utmost care must be used in handling the following information in order to protect the identity of the informants.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* to SA JOHN E. KEATING on August 7, 1958 in the form of dictaphone memo belts. These belts were transcribed by stenographer [redacted] and the transcription is located in Chicago file 134-46-Sub B-100.

This seventh letter contains information received by CG 5824-S* in conversation with TIM BUCK, head of the Labor Progressive Party, the Communist Party of Canada, in Toronto, Canada on August 4 and 5, 1958. These discussions were in connection with and as a result of the SOLO operation. This material also contains comments by CG 5824-S* as a result of the SOLO operation. This letter is inserted in the series of SOLO letters at this point because it contains information of current interest not previously transmitted in teletype or airtel summaries.

EX-102 REC-98 100-428091-63

In regard to the comments at the end of this material, CG 5824-S* stated that while they may seem sharp they are based on the fact that he has recently met with MAO Tse-tung and leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union including BORIS PONOMAREV, who participated in the recent meeting between the leaders of China and the leaders of Russia. Because of these recent developments, CG 5824-S* felt that the United States Government might have some interest in his comments.

EXP PROC

W.C. Sullivan B. Branigan 9-11

AUG 13 1958

2- Bureau (REG-AMSD)
1- New York,
100-134677 (7-5)(SOLO)
1- Chicago
JEK/njb
(4)

1- ENCLOSURE

EX-102

REC-98

INT. SEC.

55 SEP 23 1958

August 7, 1958

I. CONVERSATIONS WITH TIM BUCK, LEADER OF THE LABOR PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN TORONTO, CANADA ON AUGUST 4 AND 5, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJR-MLB #906314

A. Information from the Russian Embassy in Ottawa Concerning Funds for the Communist Party, USA from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

It will be recalled that a message was given to me by EUGENE DENNIS and ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG that some money for the CP, USA from the CPSU was in Canada and that it was necessary to make arrangements to get this money to the United States. In addition, I was supposed to ask TIM BUCK if he would agree to handle most, if not all, of the money coming from the Soviet Union for the CP, USA. Also, I was to coordinate the transmittal of the funds so that all the people concerned, both in Canada and in the United States, would be available for handling, transmitting, and exchanging any money which was available in Canada.

Despite a weekend meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Progressive Party for the purpose of hearing reports by LESLIE MORRIS and BILL KASHTAN, who had attended congresses of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Communist Party of Eastern Germany, TIM BUCK went from Toronto to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa and returned to Toronto at 3 AM on August 4, 1958. The spokesman for the Soviet Embassy acknowledged that they were to receive $50,000 in one shipment which is to go to the CP, USA. However, BUCK was told that the money probably would not arrive as soon as was expected. All the spokesman did was to acknowledge that $50,000 is on the way but they said they could not give BUCK a precise date as to when it will arrive or when it can be picked up.

BUCK explained that one should not always take the Russians for granted as regards dates. He said that in the old days they were more exact for the following reasons. In the past, contacts in the Russian Embassies were always contacts with the Party Secretary. Every Russian Embassy had a Party Secretary who was in charge of the group or nucleus which is made up of Communists working in the Embassy. However, the Embassies are so organized now that the real boss of the Embassy is no one other than the Ambassador. If the Ambassador is not present, or if he does not issue the order or if he is not consulted regarding a proposition or an order, then matters are delayed. BUCK said that most of the time he has

100-428091-63
- 1 - ENCLOSURE

contact with the Party Secretary at the Embassy at Ottawa but sometimes has contact with the Ambassador.

BUCK stated that it is quite possible that this money will be available any day but he is doubtful that the CP, USA will receive it before the end of August or the first part of September unless there is an extraordinary order or decision of the CCCPSU in Moscow. BUCK gave the following explanation for the delay:

The Ambassador is the person who has to be either present or who has to give an order permitting such a transaction to take place. Yet the Russian Ambassador to Canada is away to Moscow for a vacation of one month. BUCK said that the staff at the Embassy may have the money now or may receive it soon, but they will not give it to anyone without the specific order of the Ambassador or the CCCPSU.

BUCK said that there is no cause to worry since he was told the amount that is on its way to Canada. He commented that it is possible that this sum is presently in the Embassy at Ottawa but they will not release it without the specific authority mentioned above. BUCK said that there is always red tape involved in these matters. He said that sometimes he sends documents, books, etc. to the Embassy for people other than the Ambassador. If they reach the hands of the Ambassador the people for whom they were intended do not get them unless the Ambassador so chooses. At other times the procedure is reversed and the Ambassador does not receive documents and books intended for him. BUCK stated that from now on he is going to send multiple copies to be sure that the Party Secretary as well as the Ambassador receives whatever material he sends to the Embassy in Ottawa.

B. Other Matters Taken Up By the Russian Embassy with TIM BUCK

BUCK said that the spokesman for the Russian Embassy took up with him the question of some more work in order to organize the Slavs internationally and also took up the question of some exchange of Ukrainian delegations from Canada which would go to the Soviet Ukraine.

One thing angered BUCK. He said that the Russians have been supporting a magazine dealing with cultural relations. The magazine is published in Canada under the editorship of DYSON (phonetic) CARTER. BUCK did not know until this meeting with the representatives of the Soviet Government that this arrangement was in existence. He mistrusts CARTER and would

like to place someone else in charge of this magazine. In fact, someone else has already been chosen but he does not know at this moment that he has been selected. This person is NORMAN FREED. In any case, BUCK was dissatisfied and told them that in the future they must not choose people from the Labor Progressive Party or Communists to do anything without the knowledge of the leadership of the Labor Progressive Party.

C. Arrangements for Contacts Between the CPSU, the LPP, the CP, USA, and the CP of China

1. Transmittal of Funds

We arranged for contacts, first of all, in regard to the transmission of money. BUCK will send a get well card or a birthday card. This card will have on it a question such as, Am I correct that your birthday is on such-and-such a date?, or, Is it correct that you will leave the hospital on such-and-such a date? The date mentioned will be the date that BESS MASCOLO will arrive in the United States. The purpose of the card will be to facilitate arrangements for personal contact. Most of the time the notice will be sent to my brother in New York. Both TIM BUCK and MASCOLO prefer this arrangement. If my brother is not going to be available in New York he will send advance notice to them and she will come to Chicago. It was also agreed that one of us will go to Canada from time to time so that she will not have to travel all the time.

2. Communications from the LPP and CP, USA to the CPSU

TIM BUCK agreed to the proposition made to me in Moscow that all very important communications from the CPSU to the CP, USA should be sent through him.

BUCK stated that he never knows when the Russians or Chinese actually receive material or communications he sends to them since, as a rule, they do not acknowledge receipt of communications or documents. He said that only when someone actually goes to the Soviet Union is there an opportunity to check up on what material has actually been received. Except for the fact that he uses personal couriers and that several people from Canada travel to Russia would he know whether or not the Russians received material he had sent to them.

I told him that on the day I left Moscow I had checked and they had received only a fraction of the material concerning the CP, USA which I had sent through Progressive Books in Canada and that I had only seen about one tenth of this material. He said that every bit of the material that I sent to Progressive Books was sent to Russia. He said that in this case too, he is convinced that there was some red tape involved or some mix-up in the Embassy where most of this material was sent in one form or another. He said that in desperation he sent some of it with [redacted] (phonetic), a Canadian, who was in Moscow in May. Even the delivery of the material she was carrying was delayed for about three weeks since ALEXAI ANDREOVITCH GRENCHENCO (phonetic) was not in Moscow at that time. It was only after she got in touch with some other very important person, who contacted the CCCPSU, that they picked up from her some of the material which he had sent and which she was carrying. BUCK, therefore, suggested that I should communicate with Moscow, ask them to investigate the delay of the delivery of this material, ask them whether they received all of the material, and if not, to check into it.

It so happened that [redacted] a member of the National Executive Committee of the LPP, was to leave for Moscow on Tuesday, August 5, 1958. BUCK suggested that I write a communication to Moscow which would be carried by [redacted] BUCK also suggested that I should not protest too much, if at all, about the failure of the funds for the CP, USA to arrive in Canada. BUCK said that the Russians never, never deal with such matters in any kind of a communication except through the official channels of the Embassies or through leading personnel when this leading personnel is traveling to and from Moscow.

b6
b7C

We arranged that I would return to his residence about 7 PM to continue the discussion as to the advisability of my sending a communication to Moscow with [redacted]

a.) Communication to the CPSU
Being Carried by [redacted]

We returned to BUCK's residence at 7 PM. My wife did not participate in the discussion but did type a communication which TIM BUCK and I formulated and which was sent to Moscow with [redacted]

The communication was addressed to NICOLAI ALEXAI, a combination of the names of NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH MATKOVSKY (phonetic) and ALEXAI ANDREOVITCH GRENCHENCO (phonetic) of

the International Department of the CCCPSU. This form of address was used to illustrate to the Russians that security precautions were being taken in the event that the communication fell into the hands of the "enemy".

The communication reflected my safe arrival from my trip. I said that the people here were happy and satisfied with my mission to Moscow. Then I told them that I checked here (they would know that "here" referred to Canada since [redacted] was the courier and since TIM BUCK also was sending some oral messages with [redacted] and that all my material was supposed to have arrived in Moscow so they should conduct a search for it. Then I told them I had sent more material, specifically the article by EUGENE DENNIS entitled, "Recent World Events and the Peace Movement in the USA". I suggested that this article be printed. Then I mentioned what they had agreed was a matter of urgent material. The words urgent material signified funds. BUCK agreed that if it was phrased in that way and followed the paragraph indicating that my original material should be in Moscow, it would not violate security and the Russians would know what was meant. It was BUCK's opinion that it was enough to say and that this point should not be pressed. So they may take this up with the Ambassador to Canada or the CCCPSU may issue the order to distribute these funds.

b6
b7C

Incidently, BUCK said that as a rule the people who carry this money for the CPSU are usually connected with their trade organizations and they might speed up the process in the event that the money is not already in Ottawa.

The letter concluded with a number of non-essential personal remarks reflecting that it is hard to get used to this ordinary capitalist life after spending time in their glorious country, etc.

Now, this letter had to be written in a certain way, not only as to language, but spacing, etc., and it had to be written on bond paper. TIM BUCK helped me to dictate it because we had to be careful about the language we used. This was the first time that I had sent a communication by messenger to the CPSU.

The letter was to be sealed and taken by BUCK and he said he was going to see someone who would see [redacted] off early the next morning. BUCK agreed to send some oral messages with [redacted] For example, he was going to tell [redacted] to tell the comrades in Moscow that the letter BILL FOSTER had sent out is not an official letter and that it was sent out for perusal by the members of the National Committee of the CP,USA

and that it is not for publication, etc. Further, that more CP, USA material would be sent to the CPSU.

BUCK told me that he has implicit faith in [redacted]. He said that [redacted] was doing a lot of work that a fellow named [redacted] used to do in regard to handling such confidential matters as communications of this type and funds. As BUCK stated, [redacted] is virtually a courier.

3. Additional Information Concerning Contacts Between Communist Parties

Then BUCK told me that he is willing to do a lot of things for me that are personal in a certain sense, although he is doing it for the CP and considers it his duty. But he said that it should be kept in mind that the Russians do not take into consideration the expenditures of money or time. Therefore, it would be well to keep in mind that it takes money to travel to Ottawa and for BESS MASCOLO to travel to New York. I told him that I had taken this up with EUGENE DENNIS and that DENNIS said that a certain amount of money should be set aside to cover the cost of transmitting the money or carrying on communication between the CP, USA and the LPP. So BUCK was very satisfied with this information although I did not give him any money at this time. I told him that as soon as possible he will receive money from the CP, USA. It will be some hundreds of dollars in order to cover the cost of sending messengers and postage.

b6
b7C

BUCK has no better communication system with Moscow and Peking than we have except that he has the advantage of being able to personally see somebody in the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa. In addition, he can always send a communication to JOHN WILLIAMSON in London. Insofar as material for China is concerned, in addition to Post Office Box 509 in Peking, which we have, he sends communications to WILLIAMSON. WILLIAMSON turns them over to someone connected with the Chinese diplomatic corps whom WILLIAMSON sees from time to time.

In addition, the LPP is able to send people to Moscow from time to time. During this summer at least a dozen of their leading members have traveled to Russia. In addition, BUCK told me that he uses [redacted] who goes to Moscow at least three or four times a year.

D. Possibility of JOHN WILLIAMSON Attempting to Return to the United States

BUCK told me that LESLIE MORRIS did not know that I was in Moscow and Peking. The Russians did not tell him. BUCK said that he had asked LESLIE if he had seen me in Moscow and LESLIE replied that he did not know that I was there. Then LESLIE remarked to BUCK, Obviously, the Russians kept him on ice for good reasons so we could not see him.

Then BUCK said that LESLIE saw JOHNNY WILLIAMSON in London. We figured out that they had met the day after I had left London. It will be recalled that WILLIAMSON told me that he expected to see LESLIE MORRIS and BILL KASHTAN. I had told WILLIAMSON not to tell LESLIE that I had been in London.

Now LESLIE MORRIS brought back a message from JOHNNY WILLIAMSON which is somewhat surprising but of great importance. I will have to transmit it to GENE DENNIS immediately. It seems that JOHNNY WILLIAMSON has given serious thought to coming back to the United States. He raised with LESLIE MORRIS the question of returning to Canada. He told LESLIE MORRIS to take up with TIM BUCK the question of whether or not it would be possible for the people in Canada to fix him up like they did IRVING POTASH so that he might be able to sneak across to the United States. Now JOHNNY WILLIAMSON did not take up this question with me. It seems to me that after I left London he gave consideration to this thought in order to get closer to the CP, USA leadership for personal conversations. Further, with the lifting of the ban on travel, he may feel that if he does not get into the United States, somebody from the CP, USA can see him in Canada. Also he might feel that he can sneak into the United States temporarily to talk to the leading people in the CP, USA and in this way get a mandate to officially represent the CP, USA either in Prague, Moscow, or London.

I know that when GENE DENNIS hears this he is going to hit the ceiling. DENNIS is going to issue instructions that WILLIAMSON should not do this. I do not know if WILLIAMSON wants the CP, USA to know about this. The reason he did not tell me might be because he expects a negative answer from the CP, USA, especially DENNIS. He knew that if he discussed this matter with me I would tell DENNIS and the order would be, Don't do it. He may feel that once he gets to Canada, as POTASH did, and if the Canadians could give him some protection, he perhaps could get to the United States without detection. It would be a fait accompli. Whatever happens afterwards, of course, is another story.

I can tell you that TIM BUCK was not very happy about this. He felt that it was his duty to tell me so that I, in turn, would tell the American CP. He would not assume responsibility for any such thing. He said JOHNNY can travel and he can come into Canada any time he wants to do so. He said he doubts that WILLIAMSON would be stopped from coming to Canada. A British subject can travel to Canada without much difficulty. However, if he engaged in some activity in Canada the Royal Canadian Mounted Police might consider deporting him to Great Britain.

E. Possibility of the Printing of the New International Communist Magazine in Canada

BUCK said that LESLIE MORRIS came back with a proposition in regard to the new international Communist magazine which will be published in Prague. This magazine would be called "For Peace and Democracy", "For Democracy and Socialism", or some other title.

The proposition is that the English version of this magazine be printed in Canada. The Russians think that it would be most advisable to publish the English version in some English speaking country, preferably Canada. He said that he is not so sure that they should print the English version of the magazine in Canada unless the CP, USA leadership agrees. So BUCK asked me to deliver this message to GENE DENNIS or to whomever GENE appoints and that an answer be given right away.

They would not edit this magazine in Canada. The editor of the English version will ostensibly be [redacted] Editor of the "Marxist Review" of the CPGB. Actually, however, he will only do the editing from a technical standpoint. The paper will be edited in detail in Prague. Even the headlines will be written in Prague and the galley proofs will be sent back to Prague for approval. All the Canadians would do would be to get a printer. b6 b7C

BUCK said that a price of .50 per copy had been set for the magazine. The Communist Party of France and other Communist Parties agreed to this price. BUCK objected to the price. He said he told them that the people in Canada and the United States would never pay this price. After that they agreed that the price would be reduced to .35 a copy, or $3.50 a year. It would be 6" x 9" in size and will have approximately one hundred pages in each issue.

F. Convention of the Communist Party of Uruguay, August 17, 1958

BUCK said that the convention of the CP of Uruguay is to take place on August 17, 1958. The address of the CP of Uruguay was on the letter BUCK received and which announced the date of the convention. The address is Communist Party of Uruguay, Sierra 1716-20 Montevideo, Uruguay. One phone number is 49084 and the other phone number is 48569. BUCK said that the CP, USA should know that this meeting or congress or convention is taking place on August 17, 1958. He said that he thought it would be a very good idea if somebody was present in Montevideo so that the Western Hemisphere Conference can be discussed by both the LPP and the CP, USA.

G. Convention or Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico

BUCK did not know that the CP of Mexico is scheduled to hold its convention or congress starting September 29, 1958. He said that mail service from Mexico usually takes about a week longer to get to Canada than to the United States, so he may receive the notice later.

H. The LPP and the Jewish Question

BUCK discussed his relationship with LESLIE MORRIS and BILL KASHTAN. He said that he is not altogether happy since they are not relieving him of enough details.

BUCK also said that they are having additional troubles in the Jewish field. This seems to be their big problem. He believes that as of now the Russians did not give a satisfactory answer on the Jewish question.

Parenthetically I would state that I heard a radio broadcast from Moscow which indicates that the Russians have become a bit more sensitive to the Jewish question and that there is going to be some news which is going to satisfy other parties in other countries in regard to this situation.

BUCK also indicated that the LPP is having trouble with the ultra-left.

I. General Discussion of the CPSU

BUCK asked me what happened to MIKHAIL SUSLOV. I said that I do not know. I told BUCK that I asked to see him and they told me he was very ill. I said that SUSLOV did not participate in any meetings I attended in Moscow. Also, I did not see his name in print during the three months I was abroad. BUCK said, Well, this means he is out. The very fact that he was not present at the congress in Germany, in Bulgaria, and in Czechoslovakia, indicates that SUSLOV is out of things internationally. The fact that he was not present at the meeting between NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and MAO Tse-tung in Peking is further proof that he is not in the top leadership.

Further on the question of SUSLOV, BUCK asked me who I thought took SUSLOV's place if he is out of the leadership. I said that I did not know but that in my discussions with leading members of the CCCPSU I noted that PETER POSPELOV, a Secretary of the CPSU, seems to be playing SUSLOV's role but that some of this work is also distributed among other members of the CCCPSU and the Presidium of the CPSU. For example, a handful of members of the Presiding Committee went with KHRUSHCHEV to the congress of the CP of Bulgaria. KHRUSHCHEV could not attend the convention or congress of the CP of Czechoslovakia so A. B. ARISTOV, one of the leading members of the CCCPSU, and the leading Ukrainian, KIRICHENKO, and others went to this congress. When NOVOTNY, the President of Czechoslovakia came to Russia in May, POSPELOV traveled through the Soviet Union until KHRUSHCHEV could meet with NOVOTNY.

Then TIM BUCK went on to say that he has developed a sort of second sense in trying to feel out the attitude the Russian leadership takes when people are on the political decline. He said that you cannot always tell, but you have to learn, that you cannot press them about certain people. Citing examples, TIM said that when he was in Russia in 1950 they asked him whom he wanted to see. BUCK said that one of the first persons he asked to see was an old friend whom he had worked closely with for years, SOLOMON LOZOVSKY (phonetic). BUCK said they replied, We will see. Then BUCK commented that LOZOVSKY was in prison, was released only after STALIN died, and he died immediately after because of the tortures he had undergone because he never confessed to any crime and never agreed with STALIN. So BUCK stated that once he inquires about someone he does not press the question if the Russians do not give him an answer.

Then BUCK cited a recent experience. He said that when he was in Russia for the 40th anniversary of the October revolution he spent about one week in Kiev. He stayed in a

big mansion or palace. NICOLAI DIMITROVITCH MATKOVSKY, USSR presently the head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, was with him. They only occupied a room of this palace. BUCK told NICOLAI that he would like to see his old friend MANUELSKY (phonetic), ostensibly the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Republic of Ukraine. USSR NICOLAI said, Well now, we shall see. BUCK said nothing more. Then BUCK stated that the evening before the day they were to leave Kiev, he was discussing some matters with NICOLAI and the latter said, Well now, TIM, you didn't ask me about MANUELSKY again. TIM said he told NICOLAI that he felt that if he raised it once and no arrangement was made for him to see MANUELSKY that there might be a reason and that it might be difficult to see him so he did not press for such a meeting. Then NICOLAI said, Well TIM, MANUELSKY is very sick. We doubt that he will recover. Then to BUCK's surprise, NICOLAI said, Do you know whose palace we are occupying? This is MANUELSKY's palace. NICOLAI let it go at that.

This discussion led to the discussion of the old professor or academician, I. MINTZ. I told BUCK that I had USSR asked to see MINTZ and was told that he is dead. BUCK said Now, I think here too there is some mystery but I don't think it is a big political mystery. BUCK said that LESLIE MORRIS was also a student of MINTZ. MORRIS asked to see MINTZ and was told that MINTZ was on creative leave. This was only about a month ago or so. Therefore, the Russians gave MORRIS a different answer than they gave me.

BUCK said that he doubts very much that MINTZ is sick. He said that MINTZ had raised some important political problems. MORRIS told BUCK that he talked to various people and they confirmed that MINTZ is on what they call creative leave and that MINTZ raised the following question. MINTZ said that STALIN had indicated in his writings after World War II that World War II was a people's war from the very beginning. MINTZ challenges this conception. It is his belief that it became a people's war in certain stages and at different times. It may have become a people's war before it was over but the concept of STALIN that it was a people's war from the very beginning is not correct. This question is now being debated within the leadership of the CPSU.

Possibly NICOLAI did not know the MINTZ whom I had referred to. There are a number of persons by that name in Russia. BUCK stated that once he was misdirected to the wrong person because MINTZ is a common name in Russia. BUCK said that possibly NICOLAI made a mistake because he is fairly

new in the international apparatus and has only been in Moscow about ten years. On the other hand NICOLAI may have wanted to save himself the trouble of getting permission from higher authority for me to see MINTZ. I had also been told in Moscow that MINTZ was working with PONOMAREV on the history of the CPSU. This will be the third history of the CPSU that MINTZ has worked on. Each is a different version. In any case our conclusion was that when the Russians have reasons, valid or invalid, about not letting you see certain people or people who are out of political favor, they always use the excuse of illness or death and the best thing is not to press them on such matters.

J. Funds for LPP Members Traveling to Europe

I asked BUCK where LESLIE MORRIS and BILL KASHTAN get funds to travel to Europe. He said that they received communications from the separate parties through Moscow stating that they would defray the expenses. For example, the Bulgarians promised that they would pay the fare and expenses if the LPP would send a delegation to its congress. The CP of East Germany and the CP of Czechoslovakia did the same thing. BUCK stated, however, that the LPP is conducting a campaign and he is personally conducting a campaign to try to raise money to cover the expenses of Canadian delegations to these various congresses. In this way no one will get the idea that they are receiving help from abroad or that they are being subsidized to go to these various congresses.

II. COMMENTS CONCERNING THE MEETING BETWEEN MAO TSE-TUNG AND NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV IN PEKING, CHINA

We should make note of the composition of the Russian delegation which went to Peking. In addition to KHRUSHCHEV, R. Y. MALINOVSKY, the Minister of Defense, VASSILY KUZNETSOV, the Acting Foreign Minister, and BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a member of the CCCPSU and head of the International Department were present. On the Chinese side it should be pointed out that WANG Chia-hsiang, head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CP of China and a member of the Secretariat of the CP of China, was also present. This means that they discussed some Party problems as well as matters of foreign policy.

In regard to KUZNETSOV, I met him in Moscow in 1947. We talked about him while I was in Moscow this year. He is the Latin American specialist. He led the delegation from the Soviet Union to the inauguration of the president of

Argentina. He gave a report on Latin America and the tour of Vice President RICHARD NIXON when he returned to Moscow. He was in South America about the same time NIXON was. I think that it was no accident that KUZNETSOV went with KHRUSHCHEV to Peking. In the Communist plan against the United States, Latin America is going to play an important role. They will use the Communist Parties in Latin America in this regard. This is probably why PONOMAREV attended the meeting in Peking. Some attention might be paid to that part of the official communique on the meeting between KHRUSHCHEV and MAO Tse-tung which mentions Latin America as a part of the struggle for independence of oppressed people.

Regarding China, one of the young people whose career is just now beginning but who is on the ascendancy, is Foreign Minister CHEN YI. He was present at this meeting between KHRUSHCHEV and MAO along with CHOU En-lai and Marshal PENG Teh-huai, the Minister of National Defense. CHEN YI is also a military man but they do not emphasize his military career. Next to CHOU En-lai, CHEN YI is being groomed for bigger positions. While this is not emphasized, his photograph appears everywhere. He was present at the meeting I had with TENG Hsiao-ping, the General Secretary of the CP of China, but he did not participate in the discussions.

The meeting between NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV and MAO Tse-tung took place in Chung Nan Hai. This is a part of the old red walled imperial city in the center of Peking. This is where some of the Communist leaders live and where some of the government offices are located. This is where you meet Communists who also hold government positions. There is a distinction between this headquarters and that of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CP of China which is located in another part of the city.

Now a few general comments. There has been a lot of speculation in the United States press regarding the trip of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV to Peking and what effect it will have on future international events. Some writers are speculating that they have now found the X factor which exists in the Soviet-Chinese relationship. They point to the fact that China appears before the Soviet Union in the communiques from Peking. Thus they are trying to say that primacy is given to China. I would point out that since the 40th anniversary of the USSR, China has always been linked with the Soviet Union. When the Russians speak about the socialist camp in these general communiques they never fail to mention China even though they do not mention the other socialist countries. It is a fact that China has become a sort of equal partner, with some reservations, with the Soviet Union.

I believe that this meeting will have the following effect on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will pursue a more militant, aggressive, and truculent attitude towards the Western world. The headlines about the United States and particularly about JOHN FOSTER DULLES and President EISENHOWER out maneuvering the Russians in regard to the summit meeting are just so much poppy-cock and hot air.

As in his conversations with me, MAO will insist on a more adamant and tougher policy in relation to the Western powers. You will recall that not only MAO but all of the other Chinese leaders I talked with point out that they are going to put the screws on Japan and Great Britain. China feels that the Western world is in a tough spot. Difficulties for the Western powers in other parts of the world would make things easier for the Chinese and the Communists in the Far East, Asia, and the Pacific in general.

The Chinese feel that they are not a part of all these discussions concerning the Middle East since they are not in the United Nations. The Chinese are of the opinion that instead of bowing to Western opinion, demands, or maneuvers on the diplomatic field, that it is necessary to take advantage of the difficulties and to show a tougher policy. If the tougher policy leads to a military clash, well, they have very little to lose. They feel they can fight as well as anyone, that the West is not anxious for war just as they may not be anxious for war. But world opinion may not permit an atomic war. If they fight any other kind of a war the advantages certainly are on the side of the so-called socialist states.

So, without going into a deep analysis of the results flowing from this KHRUSHCHEV-MAO meeting, I would say that we should look forward to a tougher policy on the part of the Communist states and that KHRUSHCHEV may not be so anxious for a summit meeting at this time. So that if the United States thinks that it has out maneuvered them so that there will not be a summit meeting at this time, the United States may be doing exactly what they are looking for so that they can carry on their propaganda in broader forms including the General Assembly of the United Nations. Thus there may not be a summit meeting, which the Russians still desire on their terms, then things may happen in all parts of the world. They can point to these tensions and say, Well, you have been avoiding this summit meeting. Here is the result--an increase of tensions and the danger of war. They will blame all of this on the United States.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: August 8, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958 and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] The information in this second letter contains details of that part of the Solo operation dealing with the preparation by CG 5824-S* for the formal meetings with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the actual meetings.

(2) - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (REGISTERED)
1 - 100-134637 (#7-5)
1 - Chicago

JEK/jcr
(4)

1 ENCLOSURE

REC-88 1 cc retained in 1243 WFO EX-102

REC-88 100-428091-62
9-10
24 AUG 11 1958

EX-102

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4 BJA MLB
#906318

55 SEP 23 1958

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 12, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted]. This tenth letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation in China in which CG 5824-S* had the first formal meetings with WANG Chia-hsiang, member of the Secretariat and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

2 ENCLOSURES
1 rec'd retained in 1243 WCF

EX. - 132

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-23-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
FF906318

REC-8

REC-8 100-428091-64

9-11

14 AUG 14 1958

EX. - 132

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/23/81
DELETE

59

5 SEP 23 1958

INTERC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BSA-MLB
#96314

August 12, 1958

MEETING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

On June 28, 1958, I had the first formal meeting with WANG Chia-hsiang and other members of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. TANG Ming-chao, with some help from YU Chi-ying, acted as the translator. LI Chi-hsin wrote every word spoken.

WANG Chia-hsiang greeted me officially and said that he was happy that I was in China. He told me that they are happy that the Communist Party - USA defeated the revisionists and that this is a very important thing. He asked me to say a few words, and I gave an introductory report similar to the one I gave to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. When I finished, WANG Chia-hsiang spoke about the situation in the Communist Party - USA. He made comparisons between the Yugoslavs and the GATES forces in the Communist Party - USA. He said that revisionism is international and that there are no differences between the thinking of TITO and GATES. Then he made the following comments on Yugoslavia:

Comments of WANG Chia-hsiang on Yugoslavia

First of all, WANG wanted to acquaint me with the conditions in Yugoslavia before World War II. WANG stated that the Yugoslavs were an underground Party. This Party had two characteristics: (1) Narrow nationalism. This had as its basis the following: Yugoslavia as a nation went through a period of oppression. They were under the rule of Hungary and the Yugoslav people developed strong national sentiments. This sentiment found its way into the Communist Party; and (2) From the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1922, it was legal only for a short period of time, but was mainly illegal. During these illegal days, there were strong factional fights and a division of the Party into groups and factions.

At the time of the occupation by the Nazis, the people fought fascism. The Communists participated in this fight, giving leadership to the partisans. During this period, the Party developed rapidly. Within a few years, HITLER was defeated. But TITO should not be credited for defeating the Nazis. The Soviet armies were responsible for this defeat.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia developed quickly, but became conceited and arrogant, like the newly rich, and looked down

100-428071-64

on other people or, as WANG put it, on other People's Democracies. Yugoslavia even claimed that it defeated the Nazis and obtained their liberation without outside military assistance, while the other People's Democracies had to be liberated with the aid of the Red Armies. But, according to WANG, TITO cannot say this to the Chinese Communist Party, who fought for its own freedom and liberation.

WANG then went on to discuss the problem of help given TITO by the Soviet Union. First of all, the Soviet Union military defeated HITLER and helped Yugoslavia to liberate Belgrade. Without the Soviet Army liberating Belgrade, TITO could not have done it. Yugoslavia also received diplomatic assistance from the Soviet Union, which was just as important as military help in order to obtain political power.

At that time, there were two governments in existence in Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union helped TITO politically and diplomatically. The Soviet Union gave material and economic help. Thus, TITO was put into power in 1944 with the help of the Soviet Union. After their liberation, Yugoslavia began to dispute with the Soviet Union. In fact, there had been disputes even before the liberation. He reminded us that there was some inference that WINSTON CHURCHILL sent his son to work in TITO's headquarters. According to WANG, the bourgeoise had foresight and they used TITO for their ends. After liberation, TITO had invited experts from the Soviet Union. These were military, economic and industrial experts. This was necessary because the factories, railroads and other industries were destroyed during the war. Already during that period, TITO showed trends of revisionism.

In the United Nations, Yugoslavia's approach to foreign policy was such that it placed the United States and the Soviet Union on the same level. Aside from this political and diplomatic approach and the various disputes occurring at the beginning of the TITO regime, TITO developed theories such as: When the Communist Party takes State power, the Communist Party should not dominate the State or put forward its own program. A people's front may be enough in order to take power. According to TITO, class struggle should not be intensified within Yugoslavia. This, according to WANG and according to all Communists, is revisionism. This concerned one of the most important problems -- the need for a vanguard Party to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, which TITO, already in the early days, ostensibly denied, at least in theory.

In addition, the relationship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became tense. There were many disputes regarding work of Soviet

experts in Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed thrashing out these things at the Cominform, but the Communist Party of Yugoslavia refused.

WANG asked me if I remembered that in 1947, after the formation of the Cominform, TITO was critical of the French and Italian Communist Parties. But when TITO was up for criticism, he refused to attend the Cominform meetings. These revisionist erroneous theories further developed, as pointed out in the 1948 Resolution adopted by the Cominform. Perhaps the method of criticism, as contained in that resolution, was not correct or exact, because this resolution of the Cominform asked for the overthrow of the TITO regime. It asked all healthy elements of the Communist movement to unite for that purpose. At that time, the erroneous theories of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were not too well known to the world. But these theories, nevertheless, were criticized in the resolution adopted by the Cominform, and this criticism was basically correct in 1948, although WANG repeated that the method of criticism employed was not so good. TITO refused to attend the Cominform after the adoption of this resolution.

WANG then stated that in 1949, TITO launched an anti-Soviet campaign. In 1949, the Cominform adopted a resolution calling TITO an agent provacateur. According to WANG, this was not so good. The situation of tension and strain between the Communist Parties, and particularly between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, prevailed until 1954. In 1954, upon the initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, steps were taken to improve the relations with Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union consulted with the Communist Party of China. WANG said that the Chinese Communist Party supported this initiative. We foresaw two possibilities: (1) After efforts on the part of the Communist camp, Yugoslavia would correct itself. At least we thought this was a possibility; and (2) That Yugoslavia would not correct its mistakes and continue on its path as it did in the 1940s.

From early 1954 to 1956, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist Parties did their utmost to improve their relations with the League of Yugoslav Communists. We thought these steps necessary. As a result of the good intentions and the work of the other Communist Parties, TITO became even more arrogant.

Parenthetically speaking, WANG meant that TITO thought these Communist Parties were bowing to him; that they were admitting mistakes without pointing to any mistakes Yugoslavia may have made.

In 1957, TITO wanted all Communist Parties in Eastern Europe to bow to him and follow the same pattern that the League of Yugoslav Communists had been following. TITO began to pose as an anti-STALIN hero. He encouraged the counter-revolutionary movement or the anti-Party movement in Hungary. In 1956, TITO made a speech at Pola, Yugoslavia. TITO said that in the international Communist movement, there are two lines: A pro-STALIN line and a Yugoslav line. TITO stated that the other Communist Parties should follow him.

WANG said that the Chinese Communist Party criticized this speech of TITO, as did other Communist Parties. WANG stated that the Chinese Communist Party, at that time, showed the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Parenthetically speaking, I might add that the TITO line denies the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to WANG, in the spring of 1957, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held meetings in Rumania with TITO, and they asked TITO to bring the disputes into the open. There was a meeting in Bucharest at that time. TITO then promised there would be no more disputes and that he would attend an international meeting to draw up a document of agreement with the other Communist Parties. In November, 1957, the brother Communist Parties gathered in Moscow on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. In the meantime, TITO had backed down and claimed illness as an excuse for not attending the meeting in Moscow. TITO's delegates, who were present in Moscow, refused to participate in the meeting with the Parties of the other Socialist countries, and they did not sign the declaration of the twelve Communist Parties. Yet, there still was no criticism of TITO by the other Parties.

WANG then stated that in the beginning of 1958, the League of Yugoslav Communists held a plenum. They issued a declaration giving the reasons why they did not sign the Twelve-Party Declaration. They just said that they did not agree with the viewpoint of the Declaration. But even at this late date, there still was no criticism of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

The Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists convened at the end of April, 1958. In March, 1958, they published a draft program and sent duplications to all Communist Parties. WANG stated that the Chinese Communist Party received a copy. When the Communist Party of China received a copy of the draft program, WANG said that we thought the question over and came to the conclusion that we could not send fraternal delegates to this Congress. We came to the same conclusion as the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union. Before the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published an article in the "Kommunist". WANG said, We, the Chinese Communists, did not write anything. We read this article in the "Kommunist" and we thought the criticism was quite gentle. But during this Congress, TITO and his followers in the leadership launched an attack on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

Parenthetically speaking, I was given a copy of this draft program to read.

WANG said this program does not look like a program from one country. It takes on the form of an international Party. This program is divided as follows:

It gives an estimation of the Capitalist world and it says that the Capitalist world has two-thirds of the world population, while the Socialist world has one-third. This program also contained an estimation of Capitalism and how it develops into monopoly Capitalism. When it develops into monopoly Capitalism, it changes its nature. As regards the State apparatus of monopoly Capitalism, according to the Titoites, this State does not represent any class. The State rather is a regulator of the class relations. The State limits monopoly Capitalism. Gradually, State Capitalism comes into being, and they prove this by saying that many enterprises in Capitalist countries have been nationalized, and these nationalized enterprises are elements of Socialism. The program of the League of Yugoslav Communists also says that in the countries of monopoly Capitalism, it is not necessary for the proletariat to overthrow the State apparatus. Also, that the pressure of the working class upon the State apparatus will gradually bring Socialism into being. The Yugoslavs emphasize that the whole world is undergoing a process of gradually moving to Socialism. (This is a very important point).

With regard to the estimation of the Capitalist world, according to the program of the Yugoslavs, monopoly capitalism will gradually move to State Capitalism, and State Capitalism already has within it elements of Socialism. The proletariat of these countries do not need to carry on a revolutionary struggle -- that is, in the more developed Capitalist countries. In the more backward Capitalist countries, such as India, they are travelling to Socialism via a special path. According to the Yugoslavs, there is some Socialism in India already. The State-owned enterprises in these countries are Socialist. The League of Yugoslav Communists close their eyes to the fact that these countries are in the hands of the bourgeoise and that the State apparatus is in the hands of

the bourgeoise. Development of Capitalism in these countries still contain elements of progress. This is the significance of the State enterprises. But it is a development of Capitalism, not Socialism.

WANG stated that the Yugoslavs, in their program, portray a very poor picture of the Communist Parties in the entire Capitalist world. The Yugoslavs say that these Communist Parties are no good. They say these Parties are dogmatic, sectarian and divorced from the masses, and they take orders from abroad. The idea of Socialism cannot be found only in the Communist Parties. In certain advanced Capitalist countries, meaning chiefly the United States and England, where the Communist Parties are small and play a minor role, the Yugoslavs say the leadership of the trade unions will lead the working class to Socialism.

Parenthetically speaking, in this part of the program, the United States is mentioned and the American Communist Party is mentioned in the most negative terms. The Yugoslavs do not see a need for the American Communist Party. This is what aroused EUGENE DENNIS to write an article concerning Yugoslavia, which appeared in "The Worker".

To summarize in brief, according to WANG, in the Capitalist world monopoly Capitalism is good, because it is on the road to State Capitalism, is the thesis of the Yugoslav program. (Other Communist Parties agree with this analysis of the Yugoslav program by WANG.) But the Communist Parties in the Capitalist world are no good.

In regard to the question of the two systems which exist -- that is, Capitalism and Socialism -- WANG stated: In our opinion the world is divided into the Socialist world and the Capitalist world. The Yugoslav Communists say that the world is divided into two blocks -- military and political. In this program, the Yugoslavs analyze reasons for the existence of these two blocks. They start their analysis by dealing with the period after World War II, and they point out that there is a struggle going on between these two blocks, which can be characterized as a struggle for hegemony of the big powers and a struggle for spheres of influence. The Yugoslavs say that this is proved by the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. These conferences show that the United States and the Soviet Union strive for the same goals -- hegemony.

In their program, the Yugoslavs go on to say that the foreign policy of STALIN was too rigid and harsh. It was this that compelled the Capitalist countries to form military blocks.

Parenthetically speaking, when the Communists read this portion of the Yugoslav program, they become enraged. According

to them, imperialism is responsible for world tensions.

Not long ago, according to WANG, TITO gave an interview to correspondents of United States newspapers. A reporter asked him, Who is the greatest man in the world? TITO named WINSTON CHURCHILL. And after TITO named CHURCHILL, he named EISENHOWER. He did not name KHRUSHCHEV. TITO only said that KHRUSHCHEV's foreign policy was more flexible. From this, according to WANG, we can see the Yugoslav estimation of the world situation -- that is, that there are two blocks, but the danger of war does not come from United States imperialism, but is due to the strong and harsh policy of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the danger of war must come from the USSR.

WANG stated that in this program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, there is not a single word mentioning the United States as imperialistic, although this is a very large document. This document also mentions the economic aid given to Yugoslavia and says that the United States gave this aid without political conditions. The aid given by the United States, according to the Yugoslavs, has nothing to do with "interference in internal affairs"; but as regards the aid given to Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union, the Yugoslavs were not treated as equals and the Soviet Union tried to interfere in Yugoslav affairs, and that the Soviet Union acts like a big nation.

With regard to foreign policy, the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists says that they are for peaceful co-existence, etc. But in actuality, Yugoslavia helps United States imperialism and directs its main attack against the USSR. In the program, there are several chapters dealing with the USSR. Why should they deal with the USSR? This is supposed to be a Yugoslav program. But with regard to the USSR, this program states that it is a bureaucratic state, and that this bureaucratic State developed during the STALIN regime and remained that way. In the Soviet Union, they say the means of production now are concentrated in the hands of the State, and the State becomes a monopolist and the State stands over the people. Therefore, the State is a "totalitarian, bureaucratic apparatus". Thus, there is an antagonistic and irreconcilable gulf between the State and the people.

In this program, the Yugoslavs state that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries want to lead their respective countries. Thus, the Yugoslavs say that the Party and the State are identical and have become bureaucratic and totalitarian. This is why there is no democracy in the Soviet Union and in other Socialist countries, according to the Yugoslavs.

WANG stated that in Yugoslavia, they say they have a real democracy. The Yugoslavs say that they have self-government of the people and a workers' democracy. In Yugoslavia, the means of production are in the hands of workers in respective factories, and not in the hands of the State. The League of Yugoslav Communists also say that they do not play the role of the leader of the State. They say they are an organization which carries on political and educational activity, and not an institution which monopolizes the leadership of the State.

The League of Yugoslav Communists once carried the name "Communist Party". It was later that they changed their name into a "League" instead of a "Party".

The Yugoslavs further claimed that the State in Yugoslavia is withering away, but this is not so in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Yugoslavs are the real Marxists. WANG referred to MARX, ENGELS and LENIN, and their conception of the state and pointed out that they stated that after the suppression of the counter-revolution, the State will wither away. The Yugoslavs said the State would wither away when the antagonisms of the classes disappear. The Yugoslavs charge that the Soviet Union is violating this Marxian concept; and since they believe in the withering away of the State, they, the Yugoslavs, are the real Marxists. But in Yugoslavia, this conception of MARX, ENGELS and LENIN is reversed, according to WANG. The Yugoslavs say that the State should not even play a leading role in social and economic matters. WANG stated that these are deceptive statements, and that TITO is trying to deceive the people with such an interpretation of Marxism.

WANG stated that the Yugoslavs say that they fought the cult of the individual in Yugoslavia. In actuality, according to WANG, the cult of the individual is most serious in Yugoslavia. WANG stated that the Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia observed and saw with his own eyes the following slogan: "TITO is us and we are TITO". The League of Yugoslav Communists have been saying the State has been withering away. WANG stated that the fact is that Yugoslavia has the highest percentage of security forces than any other Socialist country.

The Yugoslavs say they are very democratic. WANG stated, however, that TITO and his group have rigid control of the country. Here WANG emphasized that during the four days of sessions of the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists, only nine people took the floor. He mentioned that seven or eight of these nine members of the League of Yugoslav Communists are on the Central Committee.

The Yugoslavs say that the factories in Yugoslavia are owned by the workers. WANG stated that in actuality, they are controlled by a clique. WANG said that when the factory makes money, the workers get a bonus. When it does not make money, the workers do not even get their wages.

WANG went on to say that the League of Yugoslav Communists and TITO have already degenerated. He stated that revisionism in Yugoslavia already had roots in 1948, but now it has fully developed and is systemized, as shown in their program. WANG stated that all these years Yugoslavia received aid from the United States, amounting to almost three billion dollars, which bought economic and military aid. This is equivalent to 4% of the national income, or equivalent to 20% of the national budget of Yugoslavia. WANG pointed out that it is clear that the United States Government gave large sums of money to Yugoslavia for services rendered, obviously for help to United States imperialism. WANG stated that the United States Government had certain intentions. It wanted Yugoslavia to camouflage itself under the banner of Socialism, Communism, etc. WANG stated that TITO's role is to glorify Capitalism, imperialism, and the American Government. The imperialists wanted TITO to attack the Socialist countries. That is exactly what TITO is doing.

WANG stated that if we say that in the past, before World War I, imperialism developed, exploited colonies, derived super profits and gave crumbs to feed the labor aristocracy to disarm the militancy of the working class, now we can say that the United States has expended large sums of money to TITO to make Yugoslavia play the role of a disrupter and saboteur in the international working class movement, to disarm the militant and revolutionary ideas of the working class. This the United States got from TITO. These are the relations between TITO and the United States. The United States imperialists wanted to disrupt the unity of the Socialist camp and the Communist movement. WANG stated that TITO is doing exactly that.

To sum up, WANG stated that TITO and his clique have become degenerated. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. They have betrayed the working class. They are traitors to the working class. Therefore, it is necessary for us, the Communists, to remove this camouflage from TITO, to take away the name "Communist", Socialism, Marxism-Leninism, or that he is a supporter of peace. WANG stated that the League of Yugoslav Communists should be exposed so the whole world would know who they are.

The Yugoslavs said, Why not have friendly discussions and criticize us? WANG stated that the fact is that the League of

Yugoslav Communists closed the door to criticism on ideology, theory and tactics. All this criticism was refused or rejected.

In the Lapu (ph) speech, TITO called China war mongers. WANG stated, We can see that TITO and his leading group do not dare to discuss the essence of this problem.

Concerning the emergence of the revisionist views contained in the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists, WANG stated that these views existed even before 1948-1949, but not in one organized program as it is now. WANG said these views came out occasionally in speeches. WANG stated that because of the methods used by the Soviet Party, the Soviet Union and the Cominform, in 1948, it is necessary for us to take active steps to win over the followers of TITO. WANG said this needs to be done, even if it takes a few years.

In regard to the co-operation of TITO with the Social Democracies, in 1948 and 1949 the Yugoslav Party severed relations with all the Communist Parties, but developed close relations with the Social Democratic Parties of Norway, Sweden, etc., the French Socialists and the British Labor Party. TITO made visits to these places. But these Social Democratic Parties were not too satisfied with TITO and his clique. They were not interested in this camouflage of Communism.

WANG further stated that not long ago TITO arrested some members of the Social Democratic Party. TITO and his leading group are only interested in material aid. Their main concern is how to get more money.

WANG went on to talk about TITO's Ambassador to China, in that he was interfering in the internal affairs of China. He said that the bourgeoise Rightists wrote letters to the Yugoslav Embassy and all letters were answered and material enclosed. WANG said, We got these answers and replies which they received. The Yugoslavs did not want interference from us, but they are experts at interfering. Now we are writing articles and editorials to expose Yugoslav revisionism. WANG stated that perhaps later the United States will see if it pays to subsidize TITO. Then the time may come when there will be no more aid. There will be no more services to be performed by Yugoslavia to United States imperialism. In the meantime, the Yugoslavs are trying to disrupt the Communist Parties of the Capitalist world. They want to turn all Parties into their own image.

WANG stated, We make a clear distinction between TITO and the Yugoslav people. Care should be taken not to hurt the

national sentiment of the Yugoslav people. TITO is making use of this national sentiment in order to retain control. Efforts are being made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Parties in this direction to influence the people of Yugoslavia. The people will draw their lessons. They will think and ask: Why is the State now in the hands of TITO and his group? The honest elements in the League of Yugoslav Communists, the Marxists, are in a difficult position. It is not so easy to overthrow TITO. WANG stated that the day will come when a traitor like TITO will disappear.

WANG stated that after the Chinese criticized and repudiated Yugoslav revisionism, many Communists in Yugoslavia tried to flee. TITO had them arrested. This was proof that there are still some healthy elements in Yugoslavia, according to WANG.

WANG concluded his remarks by again informing me that the DENNIS article concerning Yugoslavia and its revisionism had been published in their press. He said that the attitude of the Chinese Communists regarding revisionism is identical to that of the Communist Party - USA, but that it is more difficult for the American Communists to deal with revisionism.

WANG stated that TITO said the Chinese Communist Party is afraid of public opinion. But in 1956, the Chinese Party printed TITO's Pola speech. He stated, We also published the program of the League of Yugoslav Communists. WANG said that the Chinese people became angry when reading this program. He said that the Yugoslav press did not print a word concerning the attitude of the Chinese.

WANG said that the Chinese people are being educated. They read everything that we print and they make their own judgement. WANG stated that the masses will see for themselves that Marxism-Leninism is superior to TITO's revisionism.

Conclusion of this Meeting

WANG Chia-hsiang then asked me questions almost similar to those asked by the leading members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He asked me about the health of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, EUGENE DENNIS, etc. I answered this question and told them about the other members of the Secretariat of the Communist Party - USA. WANG Chia-hsiang asked me about the relationship between FOSTER and DENNIS. He asked if there are really any serious problems in regard to political thinking between them. I replied that as of now, I know of no serious political differences between them which are of a principle nature. I said that they may have

some differences of opinion on estimations of some things, but there are no real serious differences. I said that the overwhelming majority of the Communist Party - USA voted to retain the vanguard Party.

There were some other questions about the economy in the United States, about the legality of the Communist Party - USA, about the comrades in prison, and I answered all of these questions.

This meeting lasted a couple of hours. They served us tea every few minutes during the meeting.

COMMENTS

During my discussions with various representatives of the Communist Party of China, I learned that the Chinese are launching attacks on the representatives of the Yugoslav Government in China. They were very critical of the representatives of Yugoslavia. In this regard, they pointed out that the representatives of Yugoslavia are the only members of the diplomatic corps in Peking who use cars manufactured in the United States. In this same vein, they pointed out that the Yugoslav representatives are insensitive to the feelings of the Chinese. For example, at diplomatic receptions, instead of smoking Yugoslav, Chinese or Russian cigarettes, they smoke American cigarettes.

The members of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China told me that they have caught representatives of the Yugoslav Government in meetings with Right-wingers of the Chinese Party. With regard to the official manner in which the Government of China is treating the Yugoslav Government, they stated that in late June, 1958, POPOVICH (ph), the Yugoslav Ambassador to China, left China for Yugoslavia. At the farewell dinner for him, the Chinese were represented merely by a protocol officer. No other Government official or Party official of China went to these farewell ceremonies.

As a result of my conversations with leading members of the Communist Party of China, I am of the belief that there is some truth in the charge made by Yugoslavia that the Chinese are war mongers.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 12, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4 BJA-MLB
#906318

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This ninth letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation dealing with the trip to China, the reception in China, a description of the places where CG 5824-S* and CG 5853-S resided in China, and informal discussions prior to the formal meetings with leaders of the Communist Party of China.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/30/81
DELETE

W.C. [illegible]
D. [illegible]
Deputy Assistant Director
Inspection Staff

132

REC-8 100-428091-65
9-11
AUG 13 1958

1 ENCLOSURE

REC 8

55 SEP 23 1958

Cc - E. [illegible]

Belmont
Tolson
Thornton
INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-13-06 BY SP4BJP-MLS
#906318

August 12, 1958

I. THE TRIP TO CHINA

We returned to Moscow from Sochi and were supposed to leave for China on June 25, 1958. I met with NICOLAI DIMITRIVITCH MATKOVSKY (ph) and ALEXAI SERGEOVITCH GRENCHENCO (ph), of the International Department of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They told me that too many foreigners were on the plane leaving for Peking, China, on June 25, 1958. They thought that it would be more advisable if we left on June 26, 1958, and transferred at Irkutsk. The understanding was that I should be back in Russia by July 5, 1958. They stated, however, that they doubted that the Chinese comrades would let us leave in a hurry. Since NICOLAI comes from Siberia, he was able to give us some advice in regard to what to expect in China.

ALEXAI made all the arrangements, which included taking me to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow. I reminded him that the Communist Party - USA could pay for this trip to Peking. ALEXAI became very angry at my remark. He said, You remind me of a person in Chicago who asked, "Who among you is the GPU agent?" He said, Now that is a silly question. He stated, You know that we are living in the first stages of Communism and that means that money means nothing to us. Do you think we want you to give a thought to spending one penny here? I told him that we had not had contact with them for some time and did not know how these things worked here (by way of covering up). ALEXAI then apologized and said that we should not worry about a thing. He said that the Chinese would send me back in the same style. He also told us that he had arranged for somebody to meet us in Irkutsk. Irkutsk is a custom point between Russia and China. We were given Soviet money for the first time in order to buy food, etc., at the Irkutsk Airport. He said that we should turn in any Soviet money that we had at Irkutsk, since Russian money could not be taken out of the country. He also said that the baggage would be checked and that we would have to declare everything.

We packed everything which we were not taking to China with us and left these things at the apartment. We had gone through this same procedure when we left Moscow for the tour of Russia. We left for China on June 26, 1958, and arrived there on June 27, 1958.

We turned in our passports to the security police at Irkutsk. As we had been told, we were met by somebody, who took us to a separate portion of the airport. Our passports were

100-4/27691-65

ENCLOSURE

returned to us. We could not spend any of the Soviet money, but the person who met us would not take it. We did not fill out any customs or money declarations.

We transferred to a small plane of the Chinese Airline. There were some foreigners on the plane, but they were chiefly Communists from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, who were on their way to China as parts of trade union delegations. None of these passengers spoke English. This was a Russian-built IL-14. There was a Chinese hostess and I did not know until the flight was almost completed that she spoke English. The Chinese, Russian and English languages are all used on these planes in regard to signs.

We had one other stop-over at Ulan Bator, the capital of Outer Mongolia. This is the place to which MOLOTOV was exiled. We had another passport inspection here. This was something the Russians did not know, primarily because they did not know that we would be on this type of flight. They thought that we would have a non-stop flight from Irkutsk to Peking.

When the plane was ready to take off, someone remembered that none of the passports were returned. Finally, an official came running with the passports. I reported this incident in Peking and in Moscow. I was asked about this incident again just before I left Russia. Both the Russians and the Chinese were very much concerned about it.

The Chinese keep their planes spic-and-span. In fact, the planes are cleaner than those of the Russian Airline. The Chinese serve only sandwiches and hot tea on the planes.

Everyone in the plane became ill while we were flying over the Gobi Desert. The Chinese have a very mechanical method of flying. The altimeter is visible to the passengers. We went through clouds and thunder storms; yet, the altimeter stayed at two and one-half kilometers at all times. We were unable to obtain aspirin, but were given Russian anti-headache pills.

II. RECEPTION IN CHINA

When we arrived in Peking, one-half dozen or more people were lined up right on the airfield in order to greet us. A woman, named YU CHI-YING, walked up to me and said, "Are you Comrade CAMP?" After I acknowledged that I was, the following people walked up to greet me:

WANG Chia-hsiang, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the International Liaison Department of the CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P. CHINA

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. WANG was the first Ambassador to Moscow after the Communist Party of China took over the government of China. He was one of the famous generals during the war of "liberation" of China. He was one of the military leaders of the Fifth Division of the Fourth Route Army. He wears a hearing aid as a result of an explosion, in which he also received other injuries. He has shrapnel in his stomach and is on a diet all the time.

LIU Ning-yi, Member of the Central Committee and one of the heads of the Trade Union Department. He recently attended the Peace Conference at Stockholm, Sweden.

LI Chu-li, Member of the Central Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

HSIUNG FU.

LI Chi-hsin, Secretary of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He speaks English, and takes notes during meetings.

TANG Ming-chao (American name CHU TONG), Member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He is a translator.

LIN TANG (American name LEM TONG), Member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The above are not all members of the Central Committee, but are members of this International Liaison Department, which is headed by WANG Chia-hsiang.

We met them in proper order and greeted them. Waiting for us was the large curtained car. They all welcomed me to China. The greetings were very brief.

After the preliminary ceremonies, they told us that we should rest. We were told that Comrades TANG Ming-chao and LIN TANG would take us to our residence. A security man took our baggage checks and before we knew it, the baggage was loaded into a

car and we were on our way. Peking has a new airport and this is where we landed. It is a long drive from the city. The old airport was not too good for jet planes, so they had to build a new one. While they were building the new one, the jets had to land at the military airport, which is not too far away from this new airport. The new airport has modern structures and large runways. It has everything for the landing of jets. It is a nicer looking airport than the Moscow Airport, as far as the terminal is concerned. At this time we did not go into the terminal, but saw it from the outside. This airport is in the Eastern part of Peking. The old airport was in the Western part of Peking.

III. LIVING QUARTERS IN PEKING

From the airport, we drove along a new concrete highway which has newly planted shade trees off the shoulders. I do not know the address of the first place we stayed at for a couple of days. The street was more like an alley than a street. On the corner of this Peking-style street was a building occupied by the Ministry of Communications. We stayed in a house which is surrounded by a cement wall, as were the other houses in this neighborhood. There is barbed wire on the wall and over the roof of the house.

This house formerly belonged to a former war lord. The only distinctive mark about it was that it had Chinese red gates. The car was too wide to go through the gates. The house looks like a ranch-style house on three sides. The servants live on the outside portion of one wall and the gatehouse. You cannot leave or enter without being seen. The house is oblong in shape, with a courtyard in the center.

Each housing compound has its own security officer, who takes care of travel arrangements, passport arrangements, etc. He is also in charge of the cooks, the house boys, the gate keepers, the gardner, and so on. He is in charge of the other employees in the house. He is not a political person and never participates in any discussions with the guests. We only saw him when we went out the gate or when he came to take care of some of our needs. The prime purpose of this individual is to serve and to give protection to the guests.

We occupied only one section of this house and had all the room we needed. We had a library, with all kinds of literature. When members of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China came to visit us and to have informal discussions with us, they used other quarters in the house, except during the actual discussions.

IV. COMPOUND OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

After a couple of days, they moved our residence because they thought it was too warm where we were living. While we did not want to move, they suggested that perhaps we should move to the country or someplace where it is cooler.

They moved us to the compound of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The members and staff of this department live here and have their houses here. TANG Ming-chao and YI Chi-ying and others live here.

It is a large new place and is still under construction. It is surrounded by a brick wall, with an electrified fence on the top of the wall. This fence is lighted with green lights at night in order to warn people that it is electrified. There are two entrances, with armed, uniformed sentries at the gates.

In this compound, there are a large number of apartment buildings, four or five stories high. There are also a number of guest houses, which look like two-story ranch-style houses with porches. They moved us into one of these guest houses and turned the entire house over to us. This house had many bedrooms, a study and a library. I never even opened the doors to some of the rooms.

This compound is located at the end of one of the side streets of Peking in a new development. It is located in the Western part of the city. Toward the end of a street, which I believe is called "Perpetual Peace", there is a parkway in the center of the street. Approximately one block or so to the left of this parkway is the location of this compound.

We saw a number of antennas in the compound, and on this same street they are building a new radio city. It is believed that they probably monitor international news at this location. Workers were still engaged in building this compound and live in barracks adjacent to the compound. The construction appeared to be superior to Russian construction. Frequently, radios blasted music and propaganda to the workers.

At this compound, two cooks were assigned to us, and we had our choice of Western-style or Chinese foods. The Chinese produce a very good tea and a thermos bottle filled with tea was at our disposal at all times. Despite the fact that the windows

were screened, the mosquitoes at this location were very bad. On the other hand, we never saw a fly all the time we were in China. We were told that the people had been organized in order to eliminate all flies. Persons were given quotas of flies each day to kill.

V. INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIAISON DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Both TANG Ming-chao and LIN TANG stayed with us the first evening, and were frequent visitors thereafter. They asked what kind of food we preferred -- Western or Chinese. Of course, I had to tell them that I preferred Chinese food.

These people spent hours with us, telling us about China and asking questions about the United States, and so on. I learned that TANG Ming-chao left the United States in 1951, and that LIN TANG left the United States in 1949. The wife of TANG Ming-chao left the United States even later than 1951, and came to China by way of Europe. TANG Ming-chao at one time worked in California. He knows a number of persons in the Communist Party - USA, including Party members in New York, in addition to California. He asked me about DICK CRILEY, of Chicago, and told me that he met CRILEY at a youth conference at about the time CRILEY joined the Communist Party in the 1930's. TANG Ming-chao is a very educated person. He has many college degrees. He graduated from a university in the United States and was a teacher in China. He was scheduled to go to the Peace Conference in Stockholm, Sweden.

LIN TANG worked in New York chiefly, and at one time ran a restaurant with other Chinese on 10th Street, near the headquarters of the Communist Party - USA in New York City. He said that they tried to make money for a Chinese newspaper they were publishing; however, they went broke. He has been assigned to go to a Party school for one year. He was one of those selected from the International Liaison Department to go to this school. This will be the first time that he will be in attendance at a school where he will obtain a higher Party education. He told me that YI Chi-ying went to a Party school for two years.

They immediately decided that we were dressed too warmly. Under some pretext, they called in a tailor and told him to measure us for new clothing. A tailor came the next evening. He had worked in Shanghai making clothes for the British. Within forty-eight hours, they brought the new clothing to us. While my suit was made of the best cloth, the style was not too good. I wore this suit at very important functions while I was in China.

They took security precautions similar to those taken by the Russians. We went out shopping only once or twice. They bought sport shirts for me and selected the kind that the Russians would buy. They also bought us coolie hats and sun glasses. They did not take us to any stores where we might run into any foreigners. We did not visit any department stores. In return for their gifts, I gave TANG Ming-chao's little girl a ball point pen, and my wife gave her raincoat to YI Chi-ying. When I returned to Moscow, I gave these articles of clothing to YURI IVANOV, ALEXAI GRENCHENCO, and NICOLAI MATKOVSKY. U.S.S.R.

There were a lot of things to talk about. They wanted to know about the Communist Party situation in the United States. They could tell us in very fluent English about the situation in China as a preliminary to the formal discussions with the other Party leaders.

TANG Ming-chao and LIN TANG were wonderful sources of information. Incidentally, the Chinese are much freer in conversations than the Russians. I attribute this to the fact that they are still new at the game. They have been in power only nine years. Since TANG Ming-chao and LIN TANG had spent a lot of time in the United States and had worked in the Communist Party - USA, they jokingly said that they have dual membership in the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party - USA. They are not as clannish as are the Russians. Particularly in regard to Communists from other countries, they are profiting from the mistakes which STALIN committed in relation to foreigners. So, by the time we got through with the informal discussions, I had a pretty good idea of what is happening in China. They supplied me with all kinds of literature. Through them, I was able to keep in constant contact with the Liaison Department, and my schedule was worked out very efficiently.

VI. LETTER TO MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA FROM THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - USA

I wrote a letter to the Communist Party of China not long after my arrival in Peking. I addressed the letter to MAO Tse-tung and signed it as a representative of the Communist Party - USA. I selected June 30, 1958, to present the letter, because July 1, 1958, was the 37th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China. In the letter, I stated how happy I was to be in this liberated People's Republic of China. I said that we, the victims and sufferers of American imperialism, have been unable to keep in touch with brother Parties up until now. I repeated

what I had said in the letter to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that the Communist Party - USA has laid the basis for this contact by dealing some blows against the revisionists.

In this letter, I also said that imperialism is going through a terrible crisis. I said that I had watched the enthusiasm of the masses and had seen how they are building Socialism in China. I said that I had been to their factories and had been out on their farms and had visited various institutions and watched how the people follow the leadership of the Party. I congratulated them on the defeat of the Rightists. I told them how the American Communists are fighting for peace -- for the common objective. I said that we march under the same banner -- the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism. I said that we raise the banner of proletarian internationalism high.

Also in the letter, I said that we can learn many things from the Chinese Party during its period of oppression. Also, we can learn many things from the Chinese Party in regard to the achieving of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though it is necessary to keep in mind the concrete, material conditions in each country, including class relationships, etc.

In this letter, I also told them that I was sent on a mission to talk to two Parties, the great Party of the Soviet Union and the great Party of China. I said that we could learn a lot from the Communist Party of China, just as we had learned from the experiences of the leading Party --the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I ended the letter with a number of slogans, such as: "Long Live the Communist Party of China on its 37th Anniversary", "Hail the Leadership of the Communist Party of China", and "Long Life to its Leader -- MAO".

It should be noted that MAO does recognize that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading Party of Communism. The Chinese take it for granted that you must pay your respects to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the most experienced and leading Communist Party up to now. I believe that this is the price MAO had to pay to get support from the Soviet Union. Also, I figured that they probably felt that my sympathies are with the Russians. Further, they refer to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading Party of Communism in their public documents. Therefore, it was necessary for me to do likewise.

One prepares a letter of arrival and a letter of departure, both in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China did not ask for any biographies. They probably figured that we had prepared

biographies for the Soviet Party. I am sure that they wanted biographies, but I went under the assumption that these were not necessary, since they knew I had come to China from the Soviet Union, that I was a representative of the Communist Party - USA, and that I had talked with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which would not have been possible unless the Russians knew who I was.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 13, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BJA-NLB
#906318

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted]. This eleventh letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation dealing with a meeting with TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(#7-5)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw.
(4)

IIS-10F-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/30/81
DELETE

ENCLOSURE

EX - 132

REC-8 100-428091-66

3 AUG 14 1958

EX - 132

REC-8

55 SEP 23 1958 59

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BTA-MLB

August 13, 1958

#906318

MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO-PING, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

& APPROX 1965

On July 2, 1958, I met with TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. This was not just a meeting with him as an individual. I was driven to the Party headquarters, which is a former Ming palace and is known as Chung Nan Hai. There are guards at the gates. These may be security police. This is really a compound consisting of several buildings.

There was a group waiting for us at the door. They came out to greet me in a very formal fashion. The group included TENG Hsiao-ping, WANG Chia-hsiang, and the members of the International Liaison Department, previously mentioned. There were also other persons who I did not know. I could not remember the names of the others to whom I was introduced. Some are members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

We went into a large room. It was like a hall. We sat at both sides of a large table. Part of the hall was screened off because they were preparing a luncheon to be served after the conclusion of the meeting. My wife attended the luncheon, but was not in attendance at the meeting. A more or less unofficial discussion continued at the luncheon.

TENG Hsiao-ping was seated opposite me. He is about 5'1" tall, is about 55 years of age, and has a rosy complexion. He was dressed rather formally, by Chinese standards. The only time the Chinese ever dress up is for a formal occasion or for a meeting with leaders of the Communist Party. LI Chi-hsin took notes and wrote down every word. TANG Ming-chao and YU Chi-ying did the translating. Except for an occasional question addressed to me by WANG Chia-hsiang, such as "Do you agree?", everyone else remained quiet as TENG Hsiao-ping spoke.

China

Remarks of the Representative of the Communist Party - USA

TENG Hsiao-ping welcomed me to China. He said he was glad to meet with a leader of the American Communist Party. He then asked if I would mind introducing the discussion by giving them some idea about what is happening in the Communist Party - USA and in the United States in general.

I gave them a section of the report which I had prepared for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. By that time I had

100-428091-66

ENCLOSURE

learned that the Russians do not, as a matter of routine or even as a matter of procedure, give anything to other Parties which they have received from another Communist Party. From the members of the International Liaison Department, I learned that the Russians had not furnished the Communist Party of China any of the information which I had given to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union concerning the Communist Party - USA. Otherwise, I would have hesitated to repeat what I had said to the Russians. I changed it a little, but not too much.

Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping

TENG stated that there is such a thing as United States imperialism and that the fight against United States imperialism is the main struggle on the international field. He stated, When we can defeat United States imperialism, this will be the proof -- the test -- that Socialism is superior to Capitalism. He said that United States imperialism is the sharpest opponent in the Nationalist and Socialist struggle. He also stated that the Communist Party of China has the same aim as the Communist Party - USA.

TENG said that the Chinese comrades feel that the American Communists face many difficulties. He said, We also believe that you are working all right and that numbers are not important. The first International founded by KARL MARX and FREDERICH ENGELS had only four hundred people. There were only several thousand Bolsheviks at the time of the October Revolution. He stated that the Chinese Party started with only a handful. In fact, there were twenty-eight people present when the Chinese Communist Party was founded. Then he reminded me that TUNG Pi-wu, who I had known in Moscow in 1931, was one of the twenty-eight founders of the Chinese Communist Party. He said that not only was the Chinese Communist Party small in the beginning, but it made mistakes and became smaller. After that, there was growth.

Then TENG said that the important thing is to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We believe that the Communist Party - USA held up this banner bravely. We knew that you faced a difficult situation during your 16th Congress. We did not know the details, but we knew that GATES was spreading revisionism. However, we had confidence in the American Communist Party. We felt that DENNIS and FOSTER would solve these difficulties. He said that if there is a Communist Party in the United States, it is not influenced by the revisionist ideas of JOHN GATES. There is no need for a Communist Party if revisionism prevails. He said, however, that the "Daily Worker" was useful no matter how much GATES tried to distort the policies of the paper and of the Party. He said that Gatesism and all revisionism is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

Next, TENG said that it has been proven that once there is a clear banner of Marxism-Leninism, then revisionism can be eliminated and the Party can move forward when revisionism is cleared up. He said that the situation in the United States proves that what the masses wanted was Marxism-Leninism, and not revisionism, which is the voice of the bourgeoise. He said that he is happy with the results of the February plenum of the Communist Party - USA. These results were achieved because of the struggle against revisionism. He stated that it is true that a few members of the Communist Party - USA have dropped away, but the Party will become stronger. Perhaps you saved some of the membership, but who knows, maybe the results will be better if some more drop out.

Continuing, TENG stated, Your last meeting of the National Executive Committee showed that the revisionists were an obstacle when they participated in the leadership of the Communist Party - USA. It is better to have a smaller Party, but a fighting one. The Party is not a debating society. After the February sessions of your plenum and your endorsement of the Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, your decisions brought joy to the comrades here. We never had any doubt but that the United States Communist Party would achieve this result. We realize that you face many difficulties. We know that the enemy is powerful. We also know that some of the ideas in the Communist Party - USA reflect the social foundations of imperialism.

TENG Hsiao-ping said, Comrade MAO raised a question with us. Who is stronger in the United States? The Communist Party or DULLES? MAO said, DULLES and the United States monopoly capital will be done away with. They have no future. Even if the membership of the Communist Party - USA continues to decrease, the future belongs to the Communist Party in the United States. In the end, the people will realize that the Communist Party represents their interests. Of course, the United States is the strongest imperialist State. However, Comrade MAO thinks that United States imperialism is a paper tiger and the most nervous man in the world is JOHN FOSTER DULLES. DULLES is confronted with trouble which develops here, there, and everywhere.

Expanding this thought, TENG stated that a proletarian Party may be small, but the future belongs to it. More people in a Party may not necessarily always mean more strength. Take Yugoslavia, for example. The population of Yugoslavia is seventeen million. The Party membership in Yugoslavia is seven hundred thousand. This means that there are two and one-half Communists for every one hundred persons. To be a big Party does not necessarily mean to be a good Party. The Yugoslav Communists have state

power, but there is no future for such a Party because it has discarded Marxism-Leninism. It cannot claim to be a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is a revisionist Party. A Party such as this cannot help but to degenerate. The ideological banner is wrong. The United States Communist Party may be small, but it raises high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is ideologically correct and it is moving in a correct direction.

Then TENG said to me, We like you. You are full of confidence, as the American Party should be. He went on to say that the Chinese are happy over the general situation in the Communist Party - USA. He said we firmly believe that work will develop the Communist Party - USA.

Another most important thing that we would like the Communist Party - USA to keep in mind is something that Comrade MAO said, and that is that the golden period or the golden age of United States imperialism is over. The East wind prevails over the West wind.

TENG stated that the economic conditions in the United States make it difficult for the workers to accept revolutionary ideas. However, there is an economic crisis developing now. Yet, even after a certain period of recovery, the general direction will be downward and the markets for United States imperialism will narrow. A revolutionary situation will eventually develop.

Then TENG said, We are doing one thing that is proof to the whole world that the Socialist countries are better off than the Capitalist countries. The slogan in the Soviet Union today is to surpass the United States in every field. In some aspects, the United States has already been surpassed, but has not been bettered in every field as yet. We want to surpass England. We said we would do it in fifteen years or less. We said fifteen years. Now we say seven and one-half years or less. For instance, in steel production we have them beaten now. To say that we can surpass England in three or four years may be a conservative estimate. It may be that we will do it in one and one-half years. Last year, we announced as a base for 1959-1960 a little over five and one-half million tons of steel. Yet, by 1959-1960, we will surpass Britain and will be producing more than twenty-two million tons. The rate of speed of Capitalism differs from ours. This is what guarantees our victory. Next year, we will surpass England in coal. We will surpass England in other fields in two or three years. Of course, these figures do not take into consideration the difference in the total population of the two countries. These figures are not per capita production.

TENG stated that this is not the result of fifteen years of propaganda. There must be accomplishment before we talk. Some things we do publicize. Next year, we will publicize the slogan of "22 million tons of steel -- catch up with England". But we will have no difficulties in doing this. We have prepared the ground for it. We are even thinking that it is possible to catch up with the United States. Exactly how long it will take is hard to say now. We do not think that it will take long. Our aim is to catch up with England and the United States.

Continuing, TENG stated that all of this has a great deal to do with the strengthening of the Socialist camp. It is also related to the improvement of the material and cultural life of our people. This will also be proof to the world as to who is on the right side of history. TITO said it is Capitalism. We say something different. All the Communist Parties in the Capitalist countries are carrying on propaganda showing the superiority of the Socialist system over the Capitalist system. We will prove this with concrete facts and production. We owe you a debt. What we are doing is using our action to prove what you are saying as propaganda. The United States worker will learn that you are correct. Then the United States worker will be able to tell whether the words of EISENHOWER or STEVENSON are better than the words of FOSTER or DENNIS. We believe that they will say the words of FOSTER and DENNIS are better.

With the strength and effort of the Socialist camp, with the unanimity that prevails in the Socialist camp, we think we will succeed. The United States looks down upon us now, but we dealt with them in Korea. We also dealt with them at Geneva. Of course, there were no results at Geneva. But this indicates one thing. The United States did not want to break the truce. Why does the United States want to negotiate in Geneva? They are shaky. United States imperialism pretends and bluffs. But, as MAO said, it is a paper tiger. This was correct before. This is correct now. We have no fear of United States imperialism and neither should you.

Then TENG said that there were no talks at Geneva for three months at an Ambassadorial level. We gave notice. Continue talks in fifteen days at an Ambassadorial level or discontinue them. The United States State Department was in difficulty. TENG stated that LINCOLN WHITE said, Of course, we will send an Ambassador, but we will not be limited by the fifteen days. However, we insist that we will not be worried whether or not the talks continue.

TENG stated, the United States thinks that we want to go into the United Nations and thinks that we are anxious for acclaim

or are worried about the embargo. All these measures will not hurt us. We think that going into the United Nations is all right; but if we are not allowed in the United Nations with our six hundred million people, this is no credit to the United Nations. But it is no harm to us. They figure we are anxious to go into the United Nations and they are wrong. In fact, we think it is better to be without recognition. England recognized us, but we are not satisfied. At the beginning, they only had a negotiator. After Geneva, they appointed a Charge d' Affairs. But we are not bothered at all by this lack of recognition. When we produce 120 million tons of steel, let them worry. There will be a day when they will have to recognize us. There will also be a day when the United States worker will recognize us. We will wait until the day the Communist Party - USA wins.

We might even say that we are grateful to the United States for the embargo. In fact, the imperialist embargo was a factor which helped us and the other Socialist States to develop our economies. We are now more dependent upon ourselves. When we are forced to think things out and to solve our own problems, things develop rapidly.

Turning his attention to Japan, TENG stated that Japan is acting kind of tricky and naughty in Taiwan and is trying to pursue a two-faced or a double policy. Japan is pretending that they are going to deal with us, but actually they are pawns of United States imperialism. We are going to slap Japan down. Japan is caught in a vice. Either Japan will pursue a friendly policy or we will not deal with the Japanese. Japan thinks that we have to depend on her and that we have to buy from her for the leap forward. Japan insulted our flag recently. Now there will be no buying and no selling. This policy will help us, for now we will produce our own things and solve our own problems. Whether it is the United States or Japan, and whatever they do -- whatever course they follow -- really helps us. Except for the armed forces, we have no policy for giving medals. But if we are to pass out medals, we will give the first one to DULLES and the second one to the Premier of Japan.

Yugoslavia has charged that we are against revisionism because of internal difficulties. We printed the text of TITO's program and we let the Chinese people read it and judge for themselves. In general, what the imperialists are doing is helping us. The United States imperialist support of CHIANG Kai-shek helped us. United States support of [redacted] is of help to us. Help to Taiwan is help to us.

b6
b7C

Next, TENG said, What we are doing supplements the work of the Communist Party - USA. Things are developing well in the

USSR and things are good in the other Socialist countries, too. Especially if we keep in mind the events of the previous October, things are much better in Hungary now. The imperialists have been saying things about Poland, but GOMULKA cleared this up recently in a speech.

The Communist movement, after the Moscow Conference, is in good shape. We are all united now for the same purpose. We are very hopeful about the entire situation. Perhaps DE GAULLE's coming to power in France is a good thing. The French Communist Party is confident, too. We conclude that the world belongs to the Socialist countries -- to the Communist Parties.

TENG said, It seems to us that the downward trend in the economy is creating more and more difficulties for the United States. Previously, the United States publicized its superiority in technology. But the first Sputnik destroyed that. Even we have surpassed the United States in wheat production. In the past, we used to get small crops. Now things are changed. This year, wheat production in China is second only to that of the USSR. The United States is third. We have the highest record for wheat production, forty-two tons per hectare. We want to compete with the United States and the other Capitalist countries.

Next, TENG Hsiao-ping said that in world relations, there is either peace or war. The Moscow Declaration stated that all Communist Parties want peace. We want peace because this will give us an opportunity to finish Capitalism off peacefully. We can surpass the Capitalists in every line. Then the people will decide who to go with. But if the Capitalists want war, we have no control over them. As MAO said, We are not the Chief of Staff of EISENHOWER, but we are not afraid if they want war. The Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties clarified this. If the war mongers will start a war, they will be burned. There will be loss of life. There will be destruction, but many countries will have their revolution faster. If they want war, we are not afraid. To want peace does not mean that one is afraid of war. We do not want war because we can build more rapidly under peace. But IKE and DULLES will have to decide whether or not they want war. If they decide on war, let's have it. One thing is certain, and that is that in war they will be the losers. They will be the losers in peace or war, but they will be bigger losers in war.

Continuing, TENG said that MARX stated a long time ago that the time for Capitalism to lose itself in the stage of history has come. We should fight for peace and not be afraid of war. We fight for peace because this is the aspiration of all peoples. The more we are afraid of war, the greater the chances for war. The Capitalist world will have to be careful. The USSR is not afraid

of war. They have missiles and Sputniks; so, for this reason, TITO accused us, particularly China, of being war mongers.

The United States Government knows we are not afraid. You, in the Communist Party - USA, should educate your people to the fact that we are fighting for peace but that we are not afraid of war. We educate our people and then we can take care of any situation. This principle is also true for the Parties in the Capitalist countries in any situation. We work under one principle.

TENG Hsiao-ping concluded by saying that we are happy about the situation in the Communist Party - USA. We think you are doing good work. Clouds cannot cover the sun. Sometimes we may have clouds, but they cannot cover the sun. Hungary, Yugoslavia and JOHN GATES cannot cover the sun. NAGY cannot cover the sun. With regard to experience on tactical problems, you learn mainly from failures. Of course, you also learn from successes. How to work in the underground is a big problem. Sometimes the Communist method is not used in this work. It is necessary to have legal and illegal methods. Two sets of leadership may be necessary sometimes so that the enemy does not catch you by surprise. In conclusion, he told me that I should study the legal and illegal methods used by the Communist Party of China.

Conclusion of this Meeting

When TENG Hsiao-ping finished speaking, my wife was brought into the hall. We adjourned to the luncheon table. On this table, there was all kinds of food, including two dozen main dishes and a variety of desserts. There was also Chinese vodka, wines and other liquors. TENG is a heavy drinker. We made all kinds of toasts to the health of the leadership of both the Communist Party - USA and the Communist Party of China. Everyone joined in the informal discussion which took place around the luncheon table.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) (SECRET) (U)

DATE: August 13, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B) (C) (U)

SECRET

IIS IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/30/81
DELETE

SUBJECT: SOLO — (S) (U)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SECRET

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS. (C) (U)

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 7, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] [redacted] This twelfth letter contains information concerning that portion of the "SOLO" operation dealing with a meeting with MAO Tse-tung. (S) (U)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 OSA-MLB
ON 1-23-00
#906318

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED) (C) (U)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw (C) (U)
(4)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 95K/08
REASON - FCIM 1-2.4.2 2,3
DATE OF REVIEW 5/21/89

5/21/79

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EX. - 132

REC- 8

[100-428091-67] (C) (U)

9-18

14 AUG 15 1958

SECRET

1-ENCLOSURE

REC- 8

EX. - 132

59

55 SEP 23 1958

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED BY S14BJA-MCB
ON 3-23-00
#906318

SECRET

August 13, 1958

B. APPROX. 1958

I. POSSIBILITY THAT MAO TSE-TUNG MAY RELINQUISH HIS POSITION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CHINA

Prior to the time I left Russia for China, both ALEXAI ANDREOVITCH GRENCHENCO (ph), of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as [redacted] who was known as [redacted] in school in Russia, had discussed MAO Tse-tung with me. ALEXAI said that MAO has been placing a lot of emphasis on theory and has said that every Communist Party leader should be allowed time to think and to write. [redacted] who said that he has been working out of a department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said that he had heard that about one year ago, MAO asked for his release and that at that time, too, MAO said that Communist leaders at one time or another need to revert back to the stage of philosophers so they can study the world and interpret it. Since life is short, some of the Communist leaders ought to leave their imprint by writing about theoretical problems of Communism. So, MAO asked for a leave of absence to be able to engage in such study, philosophical contemplation, and writing for at least a few years. This was the Soviet version.

I learned from WANG Chia-hsiang, member of the Secretariat, Central Committee, and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, that he has already raised with the leadership of the Communist Party of China and some other Communist governments, the possibility of MAO Tse-tung relinquishing his position as Chairman of the Government of China. MAO, in addition to being Chairman of the Government of China, is also Chairman of the Communist Party of China. He is 65 years of age. He believes that any years beyond 65 are surplus for a revolutionary.

I was told by both WANG Chia-hsiang and TANG Ming-chao that MAO wants to do some writing and philosophical thinking. Therefore, he wants to be relieved of his Government position. He will agree to remain Chairman of the Communist Party for a few years after he has been relieved of his post in the Government. The Party tried to talk him out of this. Influential non-Party people also tried to talk him out of this, but he is adamant. He said that unless there is some kind of a national emergency within the next year or two and in any case not later than 1960, he will insist upon being relieved as the head of the Government. I was told that this information should be limited to only one or two leaders in the Communist Party - USA so that when it happens, if

Two 428341-67 8(U)

ENCLOSURE SECRET

the bourgeoise press wants to distort the facts, the Communist Party - USA will be aware of the situation.

It was emphasized that this is entirely a voluntary decision on the part of MAO. It was also pointed out that this decision has nothing to do with the health of MAO or with politics. It was said that he is the most popular figure and that he could at any time he desires demote every other leader in the Communist Party of China.

I observed that wherever you go in China, you see emphasis on MAO in the form of photographs, statues, etc. It is almost like a cult of the individual. His policies are the policies which prevail. He is the most popular international leader of Communism at the present time.

It was also emphasized that MAO has no health problem. He takes physical exercises whenever he has an opportunity. He swims for a couple of hours a day. His retirement would not be due to poor health.

In my opinion, the possible successors to MAO are CHOU En-lai, CHU Teh, and LIU Shao-chi. (S)

II. MEETING WITH MAO TSE-TUNG (U)

I did not know until a few hours beforehand that I was going to meet with MAO. On Sunday evening, July 8, 1958, TANG Ming-chao and YU Chi-ying told me that they had just talked to Comrade WANG Chia-hsiang, Head of the International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China, and WANG said that MAO was going to meet with me on that date. They said that the time has not yet been set, but it will be sometime this evening. Perhaps we should have an early dinner, so that you will be free to go whenever the telephone call comes through setting the time. Then they said that Comrade WANG will come to pick you up and take you to Comrade MAO. They were all excited because they did not know until the last minute either.

So I started to get ready. I was very worried. I did not know what MAO would ask or demand from me or what he would say. I did not know if I could answer his questions. At about 7:00 P.M., WANG called and said that we should be ready. He said that he would probably pick me up within an hour.

I put on the suit that the Chinese had made for me. YU Chi-ying came dressed in complete Chinese dress. TANG, who usually wears shorts, was dressed in a MAO-like jacket.

It was about 8:30 or 8:45 P.M. when WANG arrived for me in a special car. It had been raining hard for hours and it was still raining hard. WANG suggested that we should follow his car and TANG and YU Chi-ying would ride with me.

We followed WANG's car and on the way a building was pointed out to me. It had a reddish fence around it. It was the same building where I had met with KANG SHENG, LI Hsien-nin, and others. This is in the center of the city and is in a compound containing the offices of the Government. We entered this Government compound, but through another gate than the gates I had gone through before. There were at least a half dozen or more armed sentries at the gate. We drove along a lake for about five or seven minutes. We came to some kind of a Ming-like palace. There were a few guards there, and they stepped aside. Then, some houseboys came out of the palace with big umbrellas to open the car doors.

This palace, like other palaces in China, was surrounded by verandas. MAO and one or two people in civilian dress were on one of these verandas. The young persons who were with MAO were probably security people, who act as houseboys also.

WANG introduced me to MAO Tse-tung. MAO greeted me. We retired to a large room, which had Chinese rugs, elaborate draperies, soft chairs, tea tables, etc. We sat down, and MAO and I were facing each other. We were about six or seven feet apart. WANG sat a few feet away to MAO's left. I was seated between YU Chi-ying and TANG Ming-chao. YU Chi-ying did most of the translating. MAO speaks a particular dialect, but TANG helped in the translating. TANG also took notes during the meeting. I did not take any notes because this was not a very formal meeting. The next day, I asked TANG if I could see the notes he had taken. These notes were in Chinese. He translated them for me. I made some very brief notes from his translation.

MAO has a rosy complexion and is well groomed. He always wears a grayish blue jacket, buttoned at the collar. It is very military-like. He is a chain smoker and is very soft-spoken.

B. APPROX. 1881

MAO started the discussion in a very casual manner. He asked about my trip and we exchanged some pleasantries. He did not rush me. He asked about the health of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EUGENE DENNIS. I told him that DENNIS is all right. Then he made the remark that FOSTER is getting rather old. He asked me FOSTER's age. I replied that FOSTER was 77 years old last February. MAO asked me whether FOSTER is able to walk around. In answer to his question, I said that FOSTER is not able to walk around. Then MAO

concluded that the actual leadership of the Communist Party - USA, from day to day, is in the hands of DENNIS. So I said this may be a fact, although FOSTER's brain is still clear.

(My reason for saying this was that they have a lot of respect for FOSTER. He is always being praised to the sky. So, it certainly would have been improper to say that FOSTER is now senile and his brain is not working properly.)

MAO made some philosophical remarks about people getting old. He said that even though he is 65 years old, he feels that the daily tasks are too much for anyone over this age.

(Thus, MAO laid the basis for his theory that any years above 65 are surplus years and that these surplus years of a leader should be utilized in making theoretical contributions, engaging in philosophical thinking, and to hand down experiences, because there is no telling what may happen after that age. He has a desire to study more philosophy, to do philosophic contemplation, and he wishes the Party would release him of some of his daily chores.)

MAO then asked me how long I was going to stay in China and when I intended to leave. He thanked me for the letter he had received on the anniversary of the Communist Party of China. He said that perhaps I could come back in October, 1959, when they celebrate their 10th Anniversary of liberation, and that maybe I could bring others with me. He also made the remark that he had read the documents that I had prepared and some of the minutes of the remarks I had made at various meetings.

MAO then said that there is more freedom for the Communist Party in Great Britain than there is for the Communist Party - USA. He said that this is a sign that the United States Government is afraid of you. He asked whether the British Communist Party was ever illegal. I said that as far as I know, it had never been illegal, and WANG agreed with me. MAO said, Your Party was born illegally. I agreed and said we were born in an illegal period. He asked me about the present legal status of the Communist Party - USA. I told him that according to the law, we are not supposed to be illegal, but de facto we are illegal because the State laws vary. Also, some of the trade unions exclude Communists from certain jobs. This makes de facto illegality more emphatic, particularly in industry.

MAO asked whether the class struggle in the United States is sharpening. Are there many strikes? I said that there are not many strikes and that the automobile union has postponed its strike.

Then MAO asked if the Communist Party - USA and the working class have fighting spirit. I replied in the affirmative. I said that in 1929, there was less organization in the trade unions than we have today. Sometimes this organization develops by leaps and bounds. MAO said, Yes, that is true.

MAO said that he has read about violent strikes in the United States. He said that he knows that the American working class has gained more reforms since 1930 than some of the Social Democratic Parties in Europe have in a generation.

MAO said there is a future for the American Party. He said that the economy in the United States is in bad shape. Some of the key industries are working only at a low level of production. He said there is obvious discontent with the unemployment situation in the United States. He said this proves that the workers have a need for a strong Communist Party in the United States.

MAO said that the Czars used to oppress the Russian workers and the Communists. In fact, they were cruel to the Bolsheviks. The Chinese Communist Party was oppressed and the feudal lords and the Kuomintang were cruel to the Communists. But we grew. The Russian Party, as you know, not only grew, but took power, and we did too. We grew and we took power despite the oppression. There will be a strong Communist Party in the United States. (U) (S)

MAO asked whether the United States has some weaknesses or if I believe that seventeen million oppressed Negroes, particularly those living in the South, is not a sign of one of the weaknesses of United States imperialism. Then MAO asked me about PAUL ROBESON. He said, ROBESON is a good comrade and we would welcome him. I told MAO that ROBESON had won his fight for a passport. MAO asked me to give his regards to ROBESON. He asked whether it is true that ROBESON sings Chinese songs in his concerts. I told MAO that he did.

Then MAO went into some broader problems. He asked, Do you think DULLES wants to start a war soon? What about the differences among the bourgeoise in the United States in regard to keeping up the international tensions? I told him there may be differences on keeping the tensions going. I said that there may be some differences in the bourgeoise, but not in regard to foreign policy. I said that ACHESON, DULLES and TRUMAN all have one opinion, because they represent the interests of big business. MAO agreed. He said, Of course, there may be agreement among them, but there are some sections of the Capitalist countries which do

not agree with the policies of DULLES which would lead to war. He asked, Would you say it is true that the United States would fight a big war? I said that I did not know. He said, Well, some say the United States would fight a big war, but would they even fight a little war? Why didn't the United States continue the war in Korea? MAO said, Isn't it a fact that there was a lot of sentiment that the war in Korea should be called off, and wasn't EISENHOWER elected on the basis of ending the war in Korea? MAO continued, Didn't the Korean War teach American imperialism that military victories are not so easily achieved nowdays? MAO made a few remarks that the Chinese fought pretty well in Korea and they are not afraid of the best that American imperialism can throw at them.

MAO talked about the excuses of MAC ARTHUR, who had stated that if he was permitted to invade the so-called sanctuary, he would have won a victory in Korea. Then MAO said, This is just so much talk. MAO said that the battles which were fought in Korea were the kind of battles we wanted to fight. We led the Americans on.

(U) (S)

At this point, WANG commented that the United States did not know that the Soviet Air Force and many Soviet divisions would have backed them up if MAC ARTHUR would have taken another step. The United States military power might have been wiped out if MAC ARTHUR took this action.

MAO then asked, Why didn't the United States go into Viet Nam during the battle of Dien Bien Phu? MAO said that they had heard that NIXON had even announced plans to defend Dien Bien Phu, which were later denied. Actually, the United States wanted to defend Dien Bien Phu, but there was violent opposition to this.

Then MAO asked, Why didn't the United States attack Syria? What did United States imperialism discover during the Suez invasion by the British and the French? Then MAO said that after two Sputniks, United States imperialism seems to be lagging behind the Soviet Union and is not so sure that it can fight a big war. On the other hand, imperialism had chances to fight small wars, but lost these opportunities also. MAO said the United States was mobilized and threatened to invade Lebanon, but changed their minds. (That was the period when the United States turned the case over to the United Nations). Obviously, the United States was not sure of what it could accomplish by such an invasion, if it should lead to war. MAO then talked about the small wars again and mentioned Korea, Indochina, Indonesia, and so on. He repeated that the United States had lost its opportunities. MAO again mentioned the war in Korea and said that the United States was stopped there.

MAO said that United States imperialism saw French imperialism losing, but gave it no real aid. The United States made lots of noise in regard to Syria, but the Soviet Union and China said something and the saber rattling of the United States imperialists stopped. United States imperialism made lots of noise in Lebanon, but was stopped there, too. MAO said that the imperialist countries are not sure of themselves. Maybe the Socialist countries are stronger. Imperialism no longer has the support of the people in the Latin American countries, where its puppet leaders were defeated.

At this point, I talked about the peace movement in the United States. I said that the trade union movement is not involved in this. I said that the imperialists face many difficulties. I also stated that even though we are a small Party, the imperialists are probably worried about us. I mentioned the DENNIS letter concerning the program of TITO.

MAO asked me about the current membership in the Communist Party - USA. I said that it is very small and that we might register nine thousand. He replied that maybe a small Party is a good thing. Your development is in the future. The future will be very good for you, if you stand firm and raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. He said that revisionism must be fought to the bitter end. The revisionists want to harm and destroy the Communist Party - USA. They raise the white flag. MAO said that the Communist Party - USA should take down the white flag and put on the red. (W) (8)

Then MAO asked me how many members the Communist Party - USA had during its best years. I took a guess and said that it was approximately sixty thousand. I said that during that time, the Party developed rapidly. He replied that during this time of expansion, perhaps unreliable elements got into the Party. He said, Maybe GATES was one of them and also other intellectual unreliable elements got in at that time. He said that those who come into a Communist Party during an upswing are not reliable.

Next, MAO stated that a Communist Party which does not undergo storm and stress does not have much fighting strength. It is like flowers that grow in a hothouse. They cannot face stormy weather. I told him that our Party has gone through stormy weather. He replied, Yes, and therefore we have great hopes for the Communist Party - USA. We have great confidence in your Party and take your Party seriously. You had a good National Committee meeting in February and you elected a good National Executive Committee. You got rid of the revisionists. Then MAO asked me if the revisionists had a majority at one time. I replied that they did; however, I said that we have gotten rid of the revisionists and at the

February National Committee meeting we elected a new National Executive Committee. While only nine National Executive Committee members were selected at that time, more will be elected. This new leadership will follow our February resolutions.

MAO then commented that the revisionists once made a lot of noise in New York. He asked if they still have New York under their control. I replied that up until the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party - USA, the Right was in control of the New York District. Subsequently, it was defeated and BEN DAVIS is currently the Chairman of the New York District. Then MAO asked me, "Is it all right to have a Negro as head of the Communist Party in New York?" I replied that I thought it was all right, considering the make-up of the population in New York; yet, MAO still thought that it was not correct for a Negro to head such a large section of the Communist Party - USA, because it might keep the masses away from the Communist Party - USA.

Parenthetically speaking, it should be noted that a leader such as MAO would be only interested in strengthening the Communist Party and that any question of race or national minorities would be placed in the background. (W) (ST)

Next, MAO stated that he understands that the farm population in the United States is small. He asked, Is it true that it is getting smaller? I replied that this is true. It is getting smaller. He said that this was a big problem and will be a bigger problem when the Communist Party - USA takes over, because you will have to send representatives into the farm areas. He then asked me if the Communist Party - USA has any organization among the farmers. I indicated that we had very little membership among the farmers, but in the 1930's there were big farm strikes against the trusts. I said that the farmers were discontented at that time. MAO said, When you take power, you cannot ignore the farmers, even though they may be small in numbers.

It is to be noted that the Communist Party of China recently sent in tens of thousands of cadre to live among the farmers.

MAO said that if you are going to develop an anti-monopoly coalition, you will need the farmers as allies. He also stated that even after the revolution, you will need the farmers as allies.

Then MAO asked me if the Communist Party - USA is discouraged. I said, We have difficulties, but we are not discouraged. He said he was glad to hear that the Communist Party - USA is not discouraged, despite the constant enemy attacks and the terror which exists. He said that he knows that the Communist Party membership

is being persecuted in the United States and that it is not easy to be a Communist Party member in the United States. But it is good to know that they did not beat you down and that you are fighting, and also that there were very few open betrayals during the trials -- that is good.

MAO then asked me how long I had been a member of the Communist Party. I said that I had been a member of the Communist Party since 1920. He replied, You are more of a veteran than I am by one year. Then he said, "Old timers are good." He also asked me if I would go to the other Socialist countries. I replied that I would not and that my task was to simply go to the Soviet Union and to China. He said that he thought that it was just as well that I only came to these two countries, considering the circumstances under which I was making this trip.

Parenthetically speaking, I believe that MAO also meant that he felt that I would not learn anything in the other Socialist countries which I had not already learned in either Russia or China.

MAO said that the conversations I had with the other comrades are very encouraging about the survival of the Communist Party - USA, and its rebuilding. He said that the Communist Party of China is willing to help the Communist Party - USA raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism. I told MAO that originally the revisionists rejected the Statement of the twelve Communist Parties, but that we reversed this. The Communist Party - USA has already accepted the Twelve-Party Statement. This means that you have raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeoise will always condemn you and call you names. They will accuse you of following Moscow. We have been accused of this all our lives. The revisionists are afraid of this accusation. They want to surrender to the bourgeoise so they will not be accused of being agents of Moscow. The revisionists are the agents of the bourgeoise inside the Party. The working class must carry on class struggles to wipe out the bourgeoise and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are all the same as far as this is concerned. That is, we will use the class struggle to do away with classes. This is our common foundation. This is the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism. To follow Moscow means to stick to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Let them call you all kinds of names. We do not care. Only TITO is not following Moscow. For this reason, he has become an agent of imperialism. You must be mentally prepared to be called more names.

Then MAO made the remark that the Communist Party - USA is still small. I agreed and said that we need to get out of our isolation. He replied that in order to get out of this isolation

you must do hard and difficult work among the masses. You must do particularly hard and difficult work among the workers and the farmers. When you have done well in mass work, you will get out of your isolation.

Then MAO asked me, Is it true that the present-day revisionists follow BROWDER's ideas? I said that they are the same. Then MAO said that the last time the French comrades wrote you a letter, they helped you to fight BROWDER's revisionism. But this time you are fighting revisionism by yourself and you are solving the problems of revisionism by yourself. He commented that help from comrades in another country may not necessarily be good sometimes. He stated that even though the foreign comrades have the best intentions and even though their opinions may be correct, the result is not necessarily good. While it is true that the French comrades helped you to fight the revisionism of BROWDER, now you have neo-Browderism. It is a good thing that you, yourselves, took the initiative to fight this revisionism, and this initiative deserves congratulations from us.

During these remarks, MAO stated that he had discussed the latter remarks with JACQUES DUCLOS in Moscow during the 40th Anniversary of the USSR, and had convinced DUCLOS that he should not try to force his opinions on the Communist Party - USA and that it is better for the Communist Party - USA to work out its own problems.

Incidentally, NICOLAI MATKOVSKY (ph) had expressed a similar feeling. He stated that the Communist Party - USA should not worry about DUCLOS, since DUCLOS now understands what has happened in the American Communist Party. MAO made a point of the fact that the Communist Party - USA turned back revisionism. Also, that the Communist Party - USA should not get the idea that there is a new International to tell you what to do or that the Chinese Party will tell you what to do. In general, I agreed with his remarks.

I made the statement that I cannot deny that recent international events and the Twelve-Party Statement not only helped the Communist Party - USA, but also were a turning point for us. MAO replied that the Twelve-Party Statement was important. In addition, there are the two Sputniks which the Soviet Union launched. MAO then asked, Isn't it true that the imperialists said that the Soviet Union cannot do much and that the imperialists have been ridiculing the Soviet Union since the 20th Congress? I replied that the Sputniks and the crisis in the United States may have helped, but what helped to clarify the membership was the Twelve-Party Declaration. MAO went on to explain that the Twelve-Party Declaration is the declaration of the twelve Socialist countries.

He said that whether and how the Twelve-Party Declaration is accepted is up to each Party to decide. He repeated what TIM BUCK had said that the Russians even tried to hold back the other Parties from voting for it until they had discussed it at home. He warned against mechanical endorsements.

Then MAO said, Our conversation is only for your reference. My conversations and those of the other comrades are only for your reference. This also applies to the LIU Shao-chi articles which you have been reading. (This is a reference to material on the illegal work of the Communist Party of China which had been given to me for study).

MAO said, You must use your own brains to figure out your own problems. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism are universal, but the concrete conditions in each country are different. A real Marxist-Leninist must excel in independent thinking.

I then commented that the revisionists deny the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. They do not want Marxism-Leninism.

MAO asked about ALEXANDER BITTELMAN putting forward his theory of the welfare state. He asked, Now there is not much welfare in the United States, is there, considering the unemployment? I replied that we rejected BITTELMAN's theory. MAO asked me how BITTELMAN is. He said he heard BITTELMAN is not now participating in Party activity. They got a report that he did not attend the February National Committee meeting and that he has a subjective attitude toward WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. I said the Soviet comrades were surprised that BITTELMAN is a Rightist. They always thought that he was a sectarian.

MAO came back to the question of imperialism. He said that our views on imperialism are the same from a strategic outlook. We must look down on imperialism, but we do not want to over-estimate them. Yet, tactically speaking, in the concrete struggle against imperialism, we must pay a lot of attention to the imperialists. The revisionists over-estimate imperialism and think that it is very powerful. As a matter of fact, imperialism has many contradictions. All the Communist Parties will, by their own efforts, find out the roads or methods of ridding themselves of imperialism. MAO said, We all agree on this point and work together. I said, This is true and this is why the Communist Party - USA is anxious to develop international liaison.

MAO went on to say, We have the same view on the question of imperialism. Our enemy looks strong, powerful and tough on the surface, but actually it is not that powerful. The Communist Party, which represents the oppressed class and peoples, will

eventually find the way to overthrow imperialism. We are all working under the war threat of United States imperialism. The difference is that the American Communist Party has yet to gain political power. We gained our political power not so long ago and we still have to work very hard to industrialize the country.

MAO also stated that right now he thinks that American imperialism has been stymied. He said there may be many Koreas. China intends to fight if the United States starts something. China will fight if it has to, and it has the Formosan Army in its pocket. MAO said, "We stopped the Americans militarily in Korea."

MAO also said that he does not care whether or not China gets into the United Nations. He said that the United Nations will come begging for China to join. Further, if Great Britain does not give China full diplomatic recognition, China will break diplomatic relations with Britain.

MAO said that Japan is in dire competition for markets. Japan is caught in a vice. If Japan does not knuckle under to China and Russia, it will lose what it has.

(U) (S)

Then MAO stated that in the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, we adopted a resolution on the Moscow Conference. In this resolution, we have named only one fraternal Party, and that is your Party. He developed this point. He said that they wanted to encourage us. He said he thought that the Communist Party - USA was correct in its attitude. Then he said, You are in the forefront of the struggle. You will get our support.

I made the remark that I do not know if we are in the forefront, but we are happy even though we are heavily encircled by imperialism.

MAO replied, We will work together. He then asked, How is the comrade who attended our 8th Congress? Realizing that he was referring to IRVING POTASH, I said that he is in jail, but that he will be out in August.

MAO asked me if there were any others in jail in addition to POTASH. I told him that GIL GREEN and HENRY WINSTON were in jail.

As the discussion terminated, MAO asked me to give his personal regards to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, EUGENE DENNIS, and all the members of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party - USA.

MAO also asked to be remembered to POTASH, GIL GREEN, and HENRY WINSTON.

When I left the palace, MAO walked with me out on the veranda. He made some remarks that maybe I had brought luck to Peking because of the rain. I told him that I had visited some of the factories, the reservoir, etc. Photographers took pictures of MAO and myself. WANG told me not to worry. WANG stated that these pictures were just for historical records, which they will maintain in their archives.

Evidently, MAO considered this meeting important, because a couple of days before the meeting MAO was out of town. I learned that the leaders of the Communist Party of China leave Peking often.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 18, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46) (SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between August 1 and 7, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This fourteeneth letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation dealing with a meeting with KANG Sheng, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. He is in charge of ideological work, and discussed the Chinese rectification campaign.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637) (SOLO) (#7-5) (REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-22-00 BY SP4BJ4-MGB
#906318

EX.-132

REC-8

100-428091-68

1-ENCLOSURE

EX.-132
REC-8

55 SEP 23 1958 59

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB
#906314

August 18, 1958

MEETING WITH KANG SHENG IN REGARD TO THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

& Appox 1896-1898

I met with KANG Sheng, Member of the Political Bureau, Member of the Secretariat, and the person in charge of ideological work for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We spoke in pigeon Russian. We recognized each other. He was in Moscow in 1930 in the Comintern. He is about 60 to 62 years of age, about 5'7" in height, and very thin. He is partly bald and has gray hair. He is a very important man and is one of the leaders of the Chinese Communists. His task was to give me a review of their rectification campaign, which was reviewed at the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China

He pointed out that since 1942, they have had a rectification campaign. During these sixteen years, they have had continuous victories and rectification campaigns. He asked, Why do we need rectification campaigns? Then KANG stated that societies move forward and there are contradictions between societies, classes or groups. There are continuous struggles between the old and new. There is a changing of quality and quantity (dialectical expression), and there is an endless struggle going on in society.

KANG said that, according to MAO Tse-tung, CHINA in any society there is a continuous revolution in one form or another. KANG stated that the theory of permanent revolution developed by KARL MARX was abandoned by STALIN in his fight against the Trotskyists. This theory of permanent revolution has now been revived by the Chinese. Marxism is a science. As all other sciences, it constantly develops. In any Party or person, there is always conflict and contradictions -- objective versus subjective. (Dialectical philosophical jargon of Communists). During the successes and victories, there are strong points and weaknesses. There is success or failure. In order that our Party continues to progress, we have to have continuous rectification campaigns, now and in the future.

KANG went on to say, Our Party looks upon the rectification campaign as one of motive forces developing our Party and pushing us forward. The rectification campaign's primary purpose is to correct and perfect the style of work of our Party. In this way, we will enable the Party to overcome its weaknesses and overcome subjectiveness in order to cope with objective reality.

From the experiences of our several campaigns, the Party tries to overcome mistakes in style of work. It does this through

100-42691-68

ENCLOSURE 1

criticism and self-criticism. The enemy will make use of this criticism and self-criticism and attack us. This attack by the enemy is unavoidable. But this rectification campaign not only serves the purpose of correcting and improving the style of work, but helps us to launch a struggle against the class enemy.

KANG asked, In general, what is the rectification campaign? The rectification campaign within the Communist Party is a struggle between proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology. Outside the Communist Party, it is a struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

During the last sixteen years, we had continuous rectification campaigns. The biggest one was launched in 1942 in Yunnan. There was one last year, which is still continuing. These are the two most important rectification campaigns.

The rectification campaign in Yunnan was important because it laid down the ideological basis for the victory of the democratic revolution. This campaign solved the problem of who conquers whom on the ideological front -- Capitalism or Socialism.

Next, KANG stated, Some foreign friends and comrades view our rectification campaign as a purge or suppression of counter-revolutionaries. This is not a full-rounded view. It is a one-sided view. The contents of the rectification campaign do carry a struggle against counter-revolution, but the struggle is much deeper. In the course of a rectification campaign, we will also clean out bad elements from the Communist Party. But the rectification campaign goes beyond that.

KANG asked, What is the rectification campaign as MAO puts it? The rectification campaign in this case is the Socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Some comrades of the People's Democracies thought the Communist Party of China launched this rectification campaign to counter the original thesis of MAO of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend", and that the rectification campaign was to control the effects of this original idea, but they are mistaken. For instance, some in the Polish Party thought that when we launched our rectification campaign against the Rightists, we gave up the policy of the idea of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend". We think they misunderstood our policy as regards the rectification campaign and also misunderstood the essence of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend". KANG said the rectification campaign proves the following point. The "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend" idea was correct. It also proves that the Communist Party should continue the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers

Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend" in art, in literature, in science, etc.

KANG asked, Why and for what purpose did we launch the rectification campaign? Let us look at it historically. In 1949, the Chinese people won a victory on a national scale. We took over the State apparatus. As pointed out in the Twelve-Party Declaration, the capture of State power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the revolution. In this connection, some foreign comrades, in their articles, say that China is a model for a peaceful transition from Capitalism to Socialism. But they seem to forget that the Communist Party of China and the people fought for twenty years to achieve State power.

We also thought that we would like a peaceful transition, that we would negotiate with CHIANG Kai-shek. But the ruling circles thought otherwise and used violence against us. We should always make two-sided preparations. If we can get a peaceful transition, that is good. But if the bourgeoisie uses violence, we do not hesitate to use armed power to take the State into our own hands. The experiences of the Chinese revolution did not prove that the Chinese revolution was a moral or peaceful transition from Capitalism into Socialism. The Chinese people launched revolutionary wars to capture State power.

Then KANG said, When we got State power into our hands, as is pointed out in the Twelve-Party Declaration, this State power was only the beginning. After winning the revolution in 1949, the task before the Communist Party and the working class was to continue Socialist transformation. Also, to continue the economic Socialist revolution in order to change ownership of the means of production.

KANG said that the Socialist revolution on the economic front was victorious and was basically completed in 1956 in China. This Socialist transformation of the economy was completed peacefully. In 1956, the bourgeoisie joined this transformation and began to beat the drums. This may be due to the fact that the Capitalists of China who marched in the procession welcoming the Socialist transformation forgot that we fought for twenty years to capture State power. KANG said, In this connection, here is a secret. Even with State power, if we did not have several million armed men, we could not do it. They, the Capitalists, would not have marched to welcome the revolution unless we had military support. When we completed the Socialist revolution, when we won a victory on the economic front, when ownership changed, who will conquer whom was not finally decided.

Parenthetically, KANG was saying that who will conquer

whom cannot be decided by capturing State power, but is a long process and is also decided by the building of big industry, ideological changes, etc.

KANG said, If we do not continue to carry on an ideological revolution on the political and ideological front, the Socialist revolution which is won on the economic front could not be consolidated. The events in Hungary prove this point exactly. The lesson provided by Hungary is a lesson for all brother Parties. In Hungary, the Socialist revolution on the economic front was basically completed. In Hungary, they thought they had won on the economic front. They did not carry out the Socialist revolution on the political and ideological front, and the enemies inside and outside could, therefore, stage or attempt to stage a comeback. This point is made clear in the Twelve-Party Declaration. It is said in this Declaration that the bourgeoisie, though defeated, would like to stage a comeback. Even after State power is won, the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals is still strong.

According to KANG, the Twelve-Party Declaration asks, "Who will win, Capitalism or Socialism?" The Twelve-Party Declaration states that this question will be settled and won after a prolonged period of struggle, which follows the capture of power. Therefore, this formulation is included in the common laws governing transition. It points out that we must carry out the Socialist revolution on the ideological front in order to build up a mighty army of intellectuals, faithful to the working class and the revolution. The Communist Party of China views this universal truth as being very important.

Then KANG stated, Our Party sees it in this sense. If we do not conduct Socialist revolution on an ideological and cultural front, who conquers whom is not solved. The rectification campaign launched by our Party was exactly in conformity with this universal truth. You have to carry on a Socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural front.

Therefore, we should not look upon the rectification campaign as simply a campaign against the counter-revolutionists, nor is it simply a Party purge. There is a contention that perhaps the Party made some mistakes when it supported the thesis of MAO of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend". It was this misunderstanding which is really the main reason we have launched the rectification campaign at this time.

Now, let us discuss who the targets are. Who are the individuals? What were the methods used and the aims in this campaign? The rectification campaign, in reality, is a movement

of the entire nation and all of the people are concerned. To put it into simple language, we should ask, Who is involved? Involved is the Party, the army, the people, the students, the professionals, etc. Everybody is involved. Since the objectives of all those we have cited are different, the targets come from different classes. The methods used and the nature of the attack against them are also different.

KANG asked, What are the ramifications of the rectification campaign? (1) It is the contradiction between ourselves (the Party) and the enemy (Capitalists or the remnants of those who carry Capitalist thoughts and ideology inside and outside the country). (2) It is the contradictions among the people. (This total idea that KANG uses as the summary is based on MAO's famous thesis of 1956, which was spelled out in the form of an article used by world Communism. It is called "On Contradictions").

Then KANG explained that contradictions existing between the people and the bourgeoise Rightists, landlords, rich peasants, and all the bad elements, we call contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. There has been a big upsurge among these bad elements since 1956, when they watched United States imperialism launch an attack on the USSR regarding Hungary. They took this as a signal for them to attack the Party and the Government. All of the attacks of these elements took place under concrete circumstances as they prevailed in China. They did not carry on this campaign openly. They cloaked themselves as would-be supporters of Socialism. But they had certain reservations about Socialism and always pointed to the bad things in Socialism. These bad elements, like DULLES, formulated a fight against what they called sectarianism or dogmatism. (They talk as if DULLES is the person who formulated this policy). These elements, under the false flag of fighting dogmatism, actually camouflaged their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. They said that they were supporters of Socialism, but they do not want the leadership of the Communist Party. They even talked about the duty to kill Communist Party members; and even if all the Communist Party members were killed off, they could still have Socialism anyway.

Continuing, KANG said that these elements say that Marxism-Leninism is outdated and outmoded. Also, that since the death of FREDERICH ENGELS, who died after KARL MARX, Marxism is dead. These elements also oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. They substituted for the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and invented a many-sided form of Socialism. They said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a low stage of Socialism. The bad elements said that in China there are no classes. Therefore, the workers, peasants and intellectuals should take turns ruling the country. This was their conception

of many-sided Socialism and was for them a high stage of Socialism.

KANG said, These bad elements also said that in the Soviet Union there is nothing but dogmatism and no culture. They said that science in the United States is superior to that of the Soviet Union. We never treated as scented flowers the words and deeds of these bad elements. We look upon them as poisonous weeds. We are not afraid of these poisonous weeds. We allowed these weeds to grow. Since these weeds are objective reality, we cannot prevent them from growing, and we cannot, with over-simplified methods, eliminate them. Once the poisonous weeds grew, we chopped them out. We found that once we chopped the weeds down, we turned them into fertilizer.

The counter-revolutionists and the poisonous weeds can also be utilized to educate the people. In this sense, these bad elements are "teachers", but in a negative sense -- like DULLES, EISENHOWER, and CHIANG Kai-shek, who are also such "teachers".

He went on to say that the Communist Party of China also published TITO's articles in full. KANG said that in 1956, TITO made a vicious speech in Pula. Recently, when TITO acted up, we published a book of all his speeches, including his recent speech. We allow the poisonous weeds to reach a certain growth. Then we chop them down to use as fertilizer.

Then he asked, What do we do with these elements, such as the landlords, the rich peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the Right-wing writers? We destroy some of them. We remodel most of them. KANG emphasized that the struggle against these people is an irreconciliable life-and-death struggle.

Next KANG talked about the second category of this question of the ramifications of the rectification campaign -- contradiction among the people. Regarding this contradiction, KANG said this includes different strata. He went on to say that within the realm of the contradiction among the people, we launched a rectification campaign among the petty bourgeoise Parties and their followers. The nature of the rectification campaign towards these people is to get these people to accept Socialism and to remodel themselves ideologically.

Towards the petty bourgeoisie, the rich middle peasants, the independent laborers in the city and country, the nature of the rectification campaign is to get them to transform themselves -- that is, to become Socialist-minded. Then he emphasized, But the nature of the rectification campaign among the Party and working

class is different. The aim in this rectification campaign for the workers and the Party members is to improve their style of work. For instance, we want to get rid of bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism. That is, to change this bad style of work.

KANG said, In a general way, the rectification campaign among the people is a nation-wide campaign of Socialist education raising the level of Marxism-Leninism. It is an ideological campaign. It is also a campaign to use the method of criticism and self-criticism -- criticism for our own education.

(Here I might point out that in order to reach the illiterate and uneducated masses, they encouraged what they call a "big letter poster campaign". They urged everybody who had something to say to take a big sheet of paper, write as large as they can in one-inch, two-inch or three-inch letters, and put it up at their place of employment or on a wall of some building. Wherever I went in Peking or in the country-side around Peking, I noticed these big handwritten posters, which you can read from maybe thirty or forty feet away. Usually, the complaint is a sentence or two dealing with the problems the people face or something they have to say about the factory, farm, village or any institution. The walls are covered with such posters).

The rectification campaign against the class enemy is of a mass, political, class struggle nature, in order to beat the enemy and its anti-Socialism, anti-Communism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the rectification campaign expresses the antagonistic and irreconciliable nature of the people against the anti-Socialist enemies. Briefly, among the people, the rectification campaign is a struggle of the proletarian ideology against the non-proletarian ideology. Toward the enemy, the rectification campaign is a struggle of the revolutionaries against the counter-revolutionaries. Because these two methods are different in nature, the methods used are also different.

With regard to methods used against the bourgeoise Rightists, KANG stated, We adopted very firm measures to expose them, to break them, to split them, to isolate them, to remodel them, and even to punish them. The methods used among the people is mainly one of education. Here again, KANG used one of the famous slogans of MAO: "Unity - Criticism - Unity".

KANG explained that this formula in full starts with a desire for unity, proceeds through criticism and struggle to solve the contradictions in order to reach a new unity on a higher level. (Actually, this is MAO's thesis, which is decades old). Whether towards the enemy or towards the people, this is a form

of a great airing of views, involving great debates, discussions and wall papers (posters), expressing the mass views of our Party.

KANG asked the following questions: What is the aim in the rectification campaign? What is its end? As pointed out in the articles by MAO, the aim of the rectification campaign is to get a correct political orientation for everybody: (1) For all the people. Everybody should be concretely aware that they want to travel on the road of Socialism; (2) The second aim is to raise the political and ideological level of all the people. To raise the level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism and Socialism; (3) The aim of the rectification campaign is also to correct shortcomings and weaknesses in our Party work. All the Party members should get rid of their bureaucratism, sectarianism and subjectivism. In this regard, KANG talked of the five "airs": (A) Extravagant air; (B) Pathetic air; (C) Finicky air; (D) Bureaucratic air; and (E) Arrogant air. KANG spoke about certain removals. He said that they had to remove certain people. They had to censure certain people and organizations. (4) The fourth objective to be reached in the rectification campaign is to unite the masses in the widest extent. That is, to mobilize all the positive factors. To build Socialism by exerting the utmost efforts and pressing consistently. Then he cited the slogan of the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China: "More -- Better, Faster and More Economically" (pertains to the building of Socialism). (5) The fifth aim of the rectification campaign is to remodel all the elements who are against Socialism -- the bourgeoise writers and intellectuals -- to split them up, isolate them, remodel them.

KANG said, To summarize, as MAO put it in brief: We want to create a political atmosphere in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind. Such a political atmosphere would be advantageous for the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction. We would more easily overcome difficulties so that we could build Socialism more rapidly in our country, modernize industry and agriculture. In this atmosphere, our Party and our State would be more consolidated and can face and endure storm and stress.

(By way of comment, this second session of the 8th Congress was the only time in history where a Communist Party adjourned a convention and then re-convened it two years later as the same convention, second session. The Russians disagreed with this. Time means nothing to the Chinese in the sense that it does to us.)

(They speak of bitter years of struggle. They feel that

if they can bring about unity through the rectification campaigns, then they can face storm and stress because ideologically they would be consolidated).

KANG went on to give a brief outline of the stages and steps as they developed the rectification campaign. The current rectification campaign was first launched on May 1, 1957, four-teen months ago. He said, According to plan, we drew some conclusions at the end of July or the middle of August. This first stage of the rectification campaign was from May 1, 1957, to June 8, 1957. (This was the first stage, which lasted a little over a month. Actually, they talked of a six-week campaign).

KANG said, this first stage of the rectification campaign was called "The great airing of views". The characteristic of the first stage was this: Our Party allowed all kinds of views to be expressed against the Government, against the Communist Party, against Marxism-Leninism, against Socialism, etc. This included allowing the bourgeoise writers outside the party to participate out loud.

(Privately, they told me they had a hard job restraining the Communist Party members so that these outside the party would be allowed to talk).

According to KANG, the main line of thought which came out in the first stage of the rectification campaign was opposition to agricultural co-operatives for China. This opposition was expressed not only by the bourgeoise writers outside the Party, but by those inside the Party who are of rich peasant origin. They, too, opposed agricultural co-operatives for China. They opposed the wholesale buying and supplying of agricultural products by the State. These people, who were opposed to agricultural co-operatives, opposed the main movements of the Party. For example, they opposed the land reform. They opposed the 1952 campaign against Capitalists, who were punished because they committed crimes against the State. They opposed the punishment of those who took bribery or who gave out economic secrets. These petty bourgeoise writers opposed the measures which were used against the Capitalists. They opposed the movement for suppression of counter-revolution. They also opposed the Party's effort at ideological re-armament. They labeled all these movements as dogmatism. The bourgeoise writers also attacked Party rule. They said the Party acts as if it is the world, and they denounced one-Party rule. They opposed the leadership of the Communist Party and Socialism.

KANG said, We allowed all these words to come out. We even published some of these views in the Party press. These elements put forward these poisonous weeds under the guise of

helping to launch the rectification campaign, which was started by the Communist Party. We allowed these people to express themselves -- to talk out loud. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued directives to the lower organizations not to refute these bourgeoise writers. Some members did not agree with us. Some members charged the Central Committee made opportunist mistakes for allowing this discussion to go on. Some youths wept at night because the Party allowed the people to express themselves. Some said even MAO committed a mistake of Right deviation in character.

KANG Sheng went on to say that this free-hand we gave to these elements exposed those who hid in our ranks, even though the vacillators objected to this campaign. For instance, we had a bourgeoise writer in the Party who was the head of a province. He is now expelled. He was arrested during the Kuomintang regime. While he was in jail, he capitulated. He exposed himself in this campaign. We found people in our ranks who opposed centralism. These, of course, were the "provincialists".

KANG said, In the Province of Sinkiang (autonomous region), some of the people there exposed themselves as narrow nationalists. Those in the Party were not firm in their class stand and waivered. Some even went to the enemy, ideologically, and remained there. Some tried to pose as 100% Marxists. In this sense, it was harder for us than for the Communist Party - USA, where you have the class enemy as it is, and the revisionists, who spoke openly for such a line. Our enemies stayed inside. If they had left, they would have been isolated from the people.

KANG went on to say that the first stage of the rectification campaign lasted a little over a month, and all of the newspapers were full of the remarks uttered by these bad elements. In the course of this one month, all the reactionary viewpoints came out. In the meantime, the Central Committee gathered its forces and launched the counter-attack. He emphasized this. He said, We used this method to create illusions that the Communist Party was weak and would not hold on to its power. The bad elements dreamed that there would be a Hungarian incident in China. The Rightists estimated that the masses of China would leave the Communist Party and would demonstrate. They also thought that the Communist Party lost its control over the people. Of course, they knew that the Communist Party could mobilize the Army. But if the Communist Party mobilized the Army, they would lose the masses. This was a completely wrong estimation of the influence of the Communist Party. These Rightists believed that all the Communist Parties in the world would go down-hill; that they would break up.

KANG said, On June 8, 1957, we published an editorial

in the Communist Party paper, launching an attack on the Rightists. In one week's time, these forces were broken up. Now we entered the second stage -- the stage of struggle against the bourgeoise Rightists. They said that they were "duped" by the Communist Party. They cried, "You asked for an airing of views. Now you attack us." They called it "baiting the fish". They cried, "You put forward the thesis of 'Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend'. Now you violate your own policy." But the Communist Party said from the very beginning, "We call all the ideas against the Communist Party weeds which should be chopped down." We answered them and said that we will continue the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom -- Let a Hundred Thoughts Contend", but the poisonous weeds will be chopped down.

According to KANG, this second stage of struggle lasted over five months. In this second stage, we won a unanimous victory. These Rightists were exposed by the entire people -- 300,000 Rightists were exposed. (According to the resolution adopted at the second session of the 8th Congress, 400,000 Rightists were exposed and about 20,000 Party members were expelled).

KANG said, When these people were exposed, the eyes of all the people were opened. These enemies could no longer camouflage as supporters of Socialism. He went on to say that this struggle is a very concrete form of Socialist education among the people. It helped the people to understand the victory of the economic revolution, and also that this economic revolution could not be consolidated without an ideological victory. When we talk about 300,000 Rightists exposed, this includes big and small (he means important and non-important people), because only 2% were really die-hards. The vast majority of those exposed could be re-molded. But a section, even of these re-molded, will be vacillating for a long time.

KANG went on to say that if the United States dropped an atom bomb on Peking, these 2% would show their face again, since they will carry their ideas to the grave. Since October of last year, the rectification campaign entered its third stage. This stage is called improving of work and correcting weaknesses. KANG said, After beating the enemy, we (the Communists) should correct our own shortcomings. This third stage was a mass movement involving all the schools, factories, communities, etc. Everybody was involved to improve our work. The third stage included a "great airing of views" and developed into a big upsurge. We allowed freedom of the masses. We asked them to criticize the work of the Party. In this stage, everybody was involved. A million papers bloomed! (That is, wall papers, posters, etc.)

The ideas and suggestions put forward on wall papers are good ideas, in the majority of cases. Some criticism is due to misunderstanding. Some mistakes were made in this criticism, according to KANG.

Then KANG stated, The third period of the rectification campaign was a very difficult one. In the second stage, our cadre was brave. But during the third stage, we tried to get the masses to criticize the Communist Party "to burn out the mistakes from our bodies". MAO said that there are two torches in the rectification campaign. One was to burn out the enemy. The second torch was to burn out the mistakes of the Communist Party. In this situation, the vast majority of the Party members were brave enough to ask the masses to light a fire under the Communists. Some cadre forces were waiting for the torch. Some were afraid that they would get burned. This third stage lasted until the end of the second session of the 8th Congress, which was at the end of May. It lasted for seven months. After this third period, the Party relations with the masses improved immensely. Throughout the third stage of the rectification campaign, we were able to burn out, in the main, the five "airs" and the three "isms". Now we are in the fourth stage of the campaign; and that is, to ask all Party members to study certain Marxist-Leninist documents and to study their own thoughts, to improve themselves. Of course, the aim of this stage is to raise the Marxist-Leninist level of the entire Party. KANG also talked about the propaganda campaign which is being carried out in this stage. For this purpose, the Central Committee has compiled two volumes of documents, using MAO's articles on contradictions and including other Marxist-Leninist documents.

KANG said that the rectification campaign is not completely over. But we see results already. The first result is in the big leap forward. Production is developing by leaps and bounds. We realize that when people have gone through a Socialist revolution ideologically, they will achieve better results in production -- results beyond imagination. For instance, the production of wheat on a caddie or 1/15 of an acre -- 2½ tons or 2,500 kilograms. He said so far this year they have increased steel production by five million tons. It will be increased by ten million tons by the end of the year. The grain increase alone for this year is fifty million tons. He said that the result of the leap forward is so remarkable, that the press hid it. Even the Socialist press is afraid to publish figures on agriculture. If there was no proper connection between the rectification campaign and the building of Socialism, some of these things would be inconceivable.

KANG stated that the second achievement of the rectification

campaign is a political and ideological leap forward. Now there is a big upsurge in the learning of Marxism-Leninism and the works of MAO. The workers are organizing study groups to study the philosophy of MAO. In the villages, astonishing things are happening. In Shao, which is smaller than a county, a Party Secretary was brave enough to use his concrete experiences to explain the law of unity of opposites.

(He wanted to show that a Party Secretary of an organization smaller than a county is discussing philosophy, and wanted to point out this is becoming wide-spread).

KANG also stated that another low cadre in Honan Province was spending two months to study the philosophy of MAO. As a result of a study of the Party and the mass movement, you learn how to rely on the masses. With the victory of the ideological revolution among the masses, the basis has been laid for the unfolding of a cultural and technological revolution.

KANG said that in the past, there was a great deal of illiteracy in China. Now, plans have been mapped out to within even a year so there will be no illiteracy. China is establishing a compulsory system of education.

In Kiring, in the Northeast, there is not a single illiterate. But we still have many difficulties, but not the kind of difficulties TITO accuses us of. Our difficulties are of growth and advance. We do not have enough population.

Continuing, KANG stated that in the United States, there has been a reduction in steel production. We face a shortage of steel. TITO, in a recent speech, said China has a lot of difficulties. That is why we fight TITO and go to the USSR for aid. Then KANG said that Revisionism has one characteristic the world over. These revisionists never understood how to defend purity of Marxism-Leninism. TITO has always interchanged Marxism-Leninism with bourgeoise money. For example, TITO's relations with the United States. When TITO accuses us of wanting to money, and that is why we attacked him, actually he is using own attitude towards the United States or towards the Soci states. The Kuomintang used to say the same thing.

KANG went on to say, We have difficulties while in the process of progress. Society is always in the stage of incessant revolution. The rectification campaign will also develop and continue, as MAO says, once every two years. A new rectification campaign will be started every two years.

Concerning the differences in leadership, as rumored

by the imperialists and revisionists, KANG said, We answer in the affirmative. In the history of our Party, we fought opportunists. We fought CHEN Tu-su. In the early days, we fought against the Left sectarianism of LI Li-san. We have learned from Left and Right mistakes. In 1935, our Party established a leadership headed by MAO Tse-tung. The first rectification campaign in Yunnan helped to establish a solid leadership, united under MAO, which fought against dogmatism and revisionism, and this leadership has always been united. Since the first rectification campaign, in the course of sixteen years, one victory followed after another. This is because our leadership has been united. From the democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution, we always exposed anti-Party cliques. In 1953-1954, we exposed KAO Kong and RAO Shue-sze, members of the Central Committee. After their exposures and after smashing them, KAO committed suicide. (Parenthetically speaking, they killed him).

KANG said that the history of the Chinese Communist Party shows that all these victories would be inconceivable without unity. The leap forward is impossible without unity of the Party. The prestige of MAO Tse-tung among the people is indisputable. His prestige is the material force for mobilizing the people. But this is no cult of the individual. We recently expelled some people who hid under the banner of support of the Central Committee. (This is to show that the Communist Party of China is united, and these people are listed in the resolution of the Communist Party of China adopted at the second session of the 8th Congress.)

KANG went on to say that the bourgeoise press has always dreamed of a split in the Communist Party of China. He emphasized this is only a dream. He said the Party is now healthier, with the revisionists and anti-Communist elements out.

Then he went on to ask, Which is dearer -- the Party unity or keeping a few counter-revolutionists in the Party? Of course, Party unity.

In conclusion, KANG said that the Communist Party of China has great concern for the Communist Party - USA. We are interested in your problems. But we are happy that GATES deserted. We are glad to hear that you have endorsed the Declaration of the twelve Communist Parties, and were glad to read the DENNIS article on Yugoslavia and TITO, which we published.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: August 14, 1958

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)(SUB B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BJA-11LB
#906314

b6
b7C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITIES OF THE INFORMANTS.

The information on the following pages was furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period between July 22, 1958, and August 1, 1958, to SA JOHN E. KEATING and Stenographer [redacted] This thirteenth letter contains information concerning that part of the "SOLO" operation dealing with a meeting with LI Hsien-nien, Vice Premier, Finance Minister, and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED)
1 - New York (100-134637)(SOLO)(#7-5)(REGISTERED)
1 - Chicago

JEK/kw
(4)

IIS-IIOF-EDIS
SEARCH
UPDATE
CREATE 3/30/81
DELETE

REC. 21 100-428091-69 Sept 10

EX-135

15 AUG 15 1958

2 ENCLOSURE

REC. 21 100-428091-69 EX-135

67 SEP 15 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-23-00 BY SP4BJA-MLB

August 11, 1958

#906314

MEETING WITH LI HSIEN-NIEN, VICE PREMIER, FINANCE MINISTER, AND A MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

On June 30, 1958, I had a meeting with LI Hsien-nien, who is one of the Vice Premiers, Finance Minister, and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. LI is a very important man in the Governmental apparatus. LI was a very famous General during the war. He commanded the Fifth Division of the 8th Route Army. LI is about 5'10" tall; weighs about 175 lbs., which is considered, by Chinese standards, to be heavy; has a light complexion, and an oval face.

Also present at this meeting were TANG Ming-chao, member of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, who acted as an interpreter; and LI Chi-hsin, also a member of the International Liaison Department, who took minutes of the meeting.

I was taken to a fenced-in Government headquarters building. This was not a building of the Communist Party headquarters. We met in a very large room, and all sat around a table.

When the meeting started, LI asked me to list the things I was interested in knowing about. I advised him that I was interested in the economic situation in China. Also, that I was interested in knowing about this new policy of the "big leap", which had been discussed at the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China. LI agreed and proceeded to give me the following report:

Concerning the question of the second five-year plan, LI stated that China is now in its first year of this second five-year plan. LI stated it is now clear that the plans we mapped out at the first session of the 8th Congress were too low. Why was this 1956 economic plan too low? And why is the present plan higher? LI said that our country (meaning Red China) was established a little over eight years ago. LI stated that during the first five-year plan, there was no change in ownership of industry or other enterprises. They only expropriated what they call the CHIANG Kai-shek properties. It was only at the time of the 8th Congress, which took place in 1956, that they began to drastically change the property relationships. It was only at that time that they began the reforms among the peasantry from private cultivation of the land, private ownership, to co-operatives.

100-428091-69

ENCLOSURE